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BOSTON

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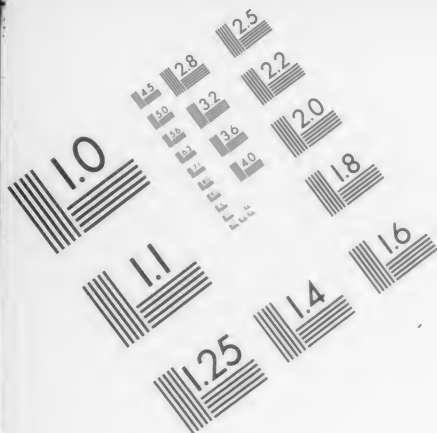
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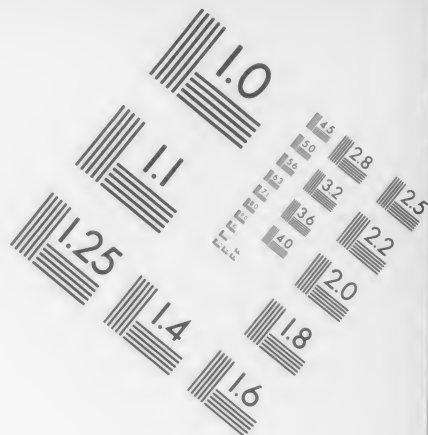
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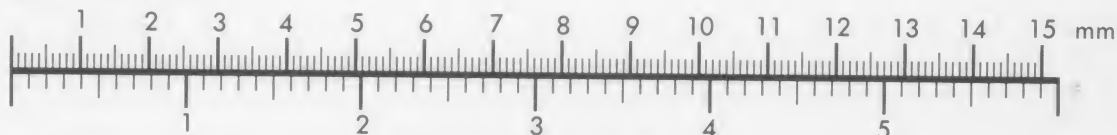
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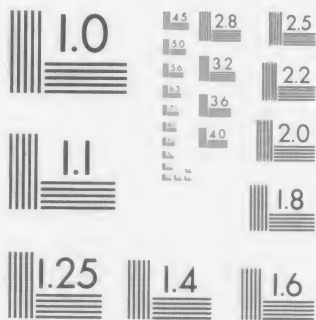
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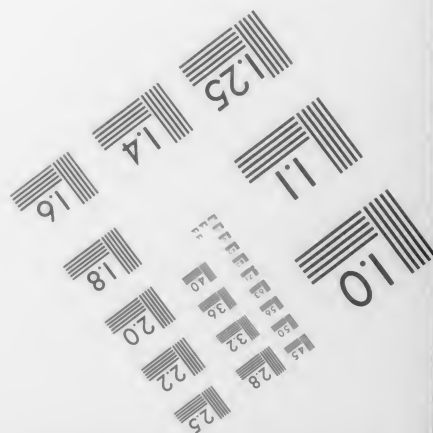
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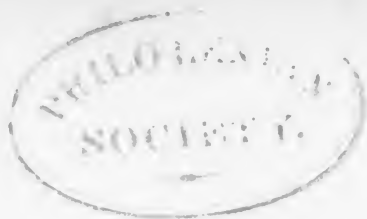
STATE OF ITALY.

BY THEODORE LYMAN, JR.

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY WELLS AND LILLY.

1820.



DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT.

District Clerk's Office.

BE it remembered, that on the twenty-seventh day of October, A.D. 1820, in the Forty-fifth Year of the Independence of the United States of America, *Wells and Lilly* of the said District, have deposited in this Office the Title of a Book the Right whereof they claim as Proprietors in the Words following, *to wit* : The Political State of Italy. By *Theodore Lyman, Jr.*

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I FAILED in every endeavour to obtain an account of the Finances of the Lombard-Venetian Kingdom. Excepting a statement of the population in the Kingdom of Naples and the Lombard-Venetian Kingdom, nothing has been published in Italy concerning the state of the country, or the operations of the governments, since the restoration. The Austrians watch over their public offices with a vigilance and severity much beyond the other governments, and those offices are still more difficult to approach, as there is a mixture of Italians and Germans employed in them, who act like spies upon each other. Those who are acquainted with the difficulty of getting political information of any kind in

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Italy, will, it is hoped, find in those circumstances sufficient reasons for the failure that I have acknowledged above.

I have not thought it necessary to say any thing about the prisons, hospitals, &c., of that Kingdom—enough, it will be found, has been said in this work on those subjects in relation to other parts of Italy. Neither has it been thought necessary to make any mention of the little states of Lucca, Modena, Parma and Placentia.

Boston, November, 1820.



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POLITICAL STATE OF ITALY.

CHAPTER I.

INDEX, BIBLE AND RELIGIOUS BOOKS.

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“Many of them, also, which used curious arts, brought their books together and burnt them before all men.”

THE last edition of the Index Expurgatorius was published in 1786, a small volume in 8vo. and containing with subsequent additions about 5600 prohibited works; and it will be found upon examination, that this list would have nearly excommunicated the respectable sized library of every general scholar

in Europe, towards the end of the last century. The two last decrees are dated December 22d, 1817, and September 26th, 1818, and mention among a few others as prohibited, the following works. *Translation of Darwin's Zoonomia. Eleventh volume of histoire des Republiques Italiennes by Sismondi. L'art de conserver et d'augmenter la beaute des femmes. Essai par Villers sur l'esprit, &c. de la Reformation. La Philosophie de Kant. La guerre des dieux anciens et modernes, Poeme au dix chants. Dupuis, origine de tous les cultes, &c.* "Atque nemo cujuscumque gradus et conditionis prædicta opera damnata atque proscripta, quocumque loco et quocumque idiomate, aut in posterum edere aut edita legere vel retinere audeat, sed locorum ordinariis aut hereticæ pravitatis inquisitoribus ea tradere teneatur sub pœnis in indice librorum vetitorum indictis. The first decree relative to books was published by Gelasius in 494, in which it is declared, what works,* catholici et authentici essent," "qui apocryphi et suspecti." At length, by the 18th section of the Council of Trent, the labour of forming an Index, or list of all books, accounted injurious, was committed to certain holy Fathers, and this

* Ciaconius, Vol. I. page 329.

Index was first published by Pius* IV. the 22d March, 1564.

The present congregation of the Index consists of eleven Cardinals, and numerous counsellors and reporters. The first article of the section above referred to, condemns all works, not found in this Index, that have been condemned by Popes or œcumenic councils in every age of the Church. Other constitutions have been subsequently published, particularly by Clement VIII. and Benedict XIV. prescribing still farther rules for the printing and publishing of books, and putting certain works under interdiction, "donec corrigatur" or "donec expurgatur." By a general declaration are forbidden all books containing apologies of hereticks, their forms of prayer, bibles, with their notes or translations of the bible by their hands. The calendars and martyrologies, catechisms, dictionaries and the thesauri of hereticks, particularly the thesauri of Henry and Charles Stephanus, of John Scapula and of John Hofman. All books in which it is affirmed that the blessed Virgin was conceived in sin; in which dwelling is justified; in which the immunity of ecclesiastical privileges or properties is impugned;

Ciaconii Vitæ Pontificum. Vol. 3, page 820.

in which St. Paul is declared equal in honor to St. Peter, &c. &c. Also, all litanies, images of Saints, missals, rosaries, agnus dei, &c. not approved by the church, are forbidden. The greatest proportion of books in the Index are French, particularly relating to the times of Bossuet,* whose name appears in it, and of the disputes with the Jansenists; latin and translations from the English, there being but few Italian or Spanish. There are few approved works of piety or morality, or excellent histories, or celebrated works of fiction, before the close of the last century, or metaphysical treatises in the above named languages, which have not been placed upon the Index; such as all received writers on the laws of nations, except Vattel; many translations of the classics with notes, Addison's travels in Italy, Raynal, commerce dans les deux Indes, &c., Copernicus on revolutions of celestial bodies, *a* Encyclopedies, all the works of Erasmus, metaphysical works of Locke and his Reasonableness of Christianity, of which, according to the decree, it seems they knew nothing but by an extract from

* Bossuet Projet du reponse a M de Tencin Archevêque d'Embrun, by decree of 7th October, 1746.

an English work, Grotius, Hume, Mosheim, Pamela or Virtue Rewarded, De Pau, Robertson, Gibbon, Swift's Tale of a Tub, Tillotson's Sermons, Hobbes, *History of the Operations of the British Bible Societies, by decree of June 23, 1817*, Genovesi, economia civile; and Voltaire and Rousseau upon almost every page of the Index. I have extracted the above named authors, in order to show that the Index spares no sorts of writing, and equally condemns bibles, novels, metaphysics, histories, and books on the law of nations. There was once an article forbidding all works, that went to demonstrate the movement of the earth. A great Florentine astronomer had already suffered for the miracle of Joshua, and it is only since the middle of the last century, that the Index has permitted modern astronomers to maintain the doctrine of Copernicus. But, after all, the Index serves little other purpose, than that of manifesting the opinions of the church, and perhaps of checking in a few superstitious or narrow-minded persons, the desire of reading the books therein contained; for all, who feel that desire, and for whose pursuits it is important that such books should be examined, readily obtain permission from the Master of the Holy Palace at Rome, or from the bishop or inqui-

sitor in other places, to read and to use with certain exceptions all works denounced by the Index. The following is a petition, translated from the Italian, in order to obtain such a permission :—

Most Holy Father. I, Nicholas Diotavelli, aged 34 years, 7 months and 13 days, hebdomadary of the cathedral of Amalfi, confessor of both sexes, and inspector of the primary schools in the before mentioned diocese, with most humble prayer solicit your Holiness, to cause to be granted to me the license of reading and holding, during my life, all prohibited works.

The form of these petitions depends upon the writer, and of which I shall give another specimen.

I, Gotlieb Schwabe, born in Recburghausen, in the kingdom of Wirtemburgh, but living in Rome since my childhood, aged forty-nine years and eight months, most humbly beseech your Holiness, and with all due veneration represent, that having completed my geographical, historical, philosophical, and other preparatory studies, and being now about to engage in a useful and voluminous work, I have often occasion to recur to the prohibited books. For that reason I supplicate your Holiness to grant me full permission to buy, read, and hold all forbidden books during my natural life,

declaring that I have no other object in this prayer, than that of acquiring the most sublime notions in literature, the arts and sciences, and for the satisfaction and comfort of my own conscience. Jan. 4, 1809.

To all these petitions the following answer, in a uniform Latin form, is always returned when the prayer is granted.

Die quarto Januarii, 1819. Auctoritate Sanc. Dom. Nos. Pap. vii. nobis commissa liceat oratori, si vera sunt exposita, legere ac retinere, quoad vixerit, libros prohibitos prout in precibus, sub custodia tamen, ne ad aliorum manus perveniant; exceptis vero astrologicis, judiciariis, superstitiosis, et omnibus, sive de obscenis, sive de haeresi ex professo agentibus. In quorum fide, &c. There is sometimes a particular exception made to the Pucelle of Voltaire, the Novelle of Casti and the works of Macchiavelli.

The Bible.—About two years ago, Mr. Hartford, an Englishman employed by the British Bible Society, offered to give any number of Italian bibles to the Papal government for distribution, provided he was allowed to print them at Rome. The government refused this offer, except upon condition that he printed the edition of the Bible

translated into Italian by *Martini, archbishop of Florence, and published in 1803, in thirty-six volumes 8vo. It is a fable that the Pope excommunicated the Bible Society, though he has caused their proceedings to be placed on the Index, and the Papal government has declared that all bibles, not approved by the church, will be confiscated, when found in the ecclesiastical dominions. The Bible was printed in Italian in the time of †Sixtus V. in the year 1589. The edition of Martini, and another by an archbishop of Turin in 23 large volumes, are the only ones tolerated, and even those instantly subjected to the Index, if printed without a Latin text and ample notes and illustrations. Such are the opportunities that the poor classes, and indeed, one may say, any classes have in Italy, of instructing themselves in the Holy Scriptures. Again, so much is knowledge denied to the Italian people, that all the offices of the Romish church are in Latin, and mass said in the Italian tongue is absolutely illegal, though Scipio Ricci, bishop of Pistoja, introduced under the

* Martini, Bibbia Sacra tradotta col teste a fronte con note e illustrazione. Venezia, 1803. 36 vols. in 8vo.

† For some curious details on that subject, see Vita di Sisto V. da Zeti. Tom 3. p. 387. It is now only found as a rare book in a few public libraries.

protection of the Grand Duke the use of the vulgar tongue in divine service in his diocese in 1786. This has since been discontinued.

The only books that the poor, and too many of the rich classes read, are short and simple lives of a few saints, but chiefly of St. Louis Gonzaga, St. Phillip of Neri, St. Francis of Assissi, and St. Francis of Paola. These little works give a brief account of the charitable deeds and abstemious lives of these well known persons. No mention is made of miracles or marvellous interpositions, and there is nothing to nourish credulity and superstition. On the contrary, there are the biographies of excellent individuals and worthy of all imitation.

CHAPTER II.

POPE AND CARDINALS.

Pope should be married or become an Atheist—answer of present Pope to prelates sent by Napoleon—character—birth and fate during the French rule—remarkable prophecy from *Mirabilis Liber*—story of Angelucci the accoucheur.—Present dominions of the Pope—impolitic law concerning works of art in Ecclesiastical and Austrian States.—Private habits of the Pope—manner of his dinner—story of dentist and butcher—number of cardinals—average of ages—proofs that their lives are innocent—amusements and duties—absurd ceremonies in public—Roman court pure.—Account of several most distinguished cardinals—names of those most seen in society—average reigns of Popes from A. D. 1000—Papeess Joanna—origin of custom of setting Pope on an open chair.

"Tu es Petrus, et super hanc Petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam."

*"THE Abbe Galiani has maintained that Rome will never recover any of its splendor till there shall be an atheistical pope. At least, it is certain that an atheist for a successor of St. Peter is better than a superstitious one." It is possible that the philosophers of those days considered it the best way to restore Rome, that the Pope should become an atheist, though if we are

* Letter of M. de Voltaire to the King of Prussia, dated Ferney, 29th July, 1775.

to believe all the stories touching the pontiffs, and particularly Leo X., that experiment had already been tried without success. At any rate, it should seem more consonant with the doctrines of wholesome politics and good morals, to effect that object by forcing his holiness to be married. But the present Pope, an amiable and good man, possessing much learning and sound sense, but with a spirit and body chastened and shattered by many years of captivity, insults, mortifications, and personal injuries, does not appear to be much beset with the ambition of restoring Rome, either by abandoning his religion or his monastic vows. Those who recollect his touching answer to the base prelates sent by Bonaparte to torture and persecute him; looking at his crucifix, he said, "let me die worthy of the sufferings that I have already endured;" those, who have witnessed the piety, earnestness and devotion, with which he assists at the great festivals of Christmas; those who have seen him riding slowly through the streets of Rome, and the people, kneeling at his approach, exclaim, "blessing, holy father." Finally, all those, who still bear in mind the meek and saintlike expression of his face, who are acquainted with his mild, gentle and subdued

manners, his mortified habits of life, his holy and sanctified demeanour and carriage, will have no difficulty in believing that he is undefiled by those wild and wicked projects, and those debauched and profligate principles and practices, that disgrace too many of his predecessors. There are surely few countenances in Christendom, that appear to bear more constantly and profoundly the expression represented in the following words of the beautiful canticle of St. Simeon. "Nunc dimittis servum tuum, domine, secundum verbum tuum, in pace; quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum."

His name is Gregory Barnabas Chiaramonti, and he was born at Cesena the 14th of August, 1742. He was a brother of the order Cassinensis in the convent St. Caliste at Rome, and the conclave, in which he was made Pontiff, was holden in a convent of that order at Venice, called St. George the greater, on the 14th of March, 1800. The accustomed possession of the Holy See took place in Rome, the 24th of November, 1801. The 2d of February 1808, General Miollis entered Rome with a military force, established a military provisional government in that city, and compelled the Pope to live a prisoner in the Vatican, till the decree of the 17th of May, 1809,

from Schoenbrunn. "Considering that when Charlemagne, emperor of the French, and our august predecessor, made a donation of several countries to the bishops of Rome, he gave them only under the title of fiefs, and for the good of his estates, &c. therefore we have decreed that the estates of the Popes shall be re-annexed to the French empire, and the city of Rome, so celebrated by the great recollections and associations which it brings to mind, and as the first seat of christianity, is declared a free and imperial city."* The Pope having published in June, 1809, a brief of excommunication against Napoleon, (the last person whom he has excommunicated) and all his counsellors and abettors, he was forcibly carried off from the palace of the Quirinal, and finally transferred to Fontainebleau. After the reverses

* When Berthier took Rome, Joseph Bonaparte being then ambassador, Angelucci, an accoucheur by profession, but celebrated for his prescriptions and political madness, was made one of the consuls. This good Republican, understanding that Fabricius and Cincinnatus has been only simple labourers, declared that he had no intention of quitting his profession, but that he would still continue with equal zeal to govern Rome, and "accoucher les dames." However, to avoid all mistakes, he caused two bells to be hung at his door; under one he printed, "bell of the consul" and under the other, "bell of the accoucheur."

of the emperor, the Pope was suffered to leave that city on the 24th of January, 1814, and he entered Rome on the 24th of May, of the same year. The following remarkable prophecy, extracted from a book called the *Mirabilis Liber*, of which the French edition is dated in 1523, was circulated in Italy at the time of the removal of the Pope. "The supreme head of the church shall change his abode, and that head will be truly happy to find with those of his brothers, who shall follow him, an asylum where he can eat a small portion of the bread of affliction in this valley of tears. The church shall have no head during eighteen months or more, because during that time there shall be neither Pope or Emperor at Rome, or Regent in France. But about the year 1809, a little sooner or later, a young man, a prisoner, shall recover the empire of the Lillies, and deliver for ever, the children of Brutus."* By the 103 Art. of the Congress of Vienna, the Pope was re-established in possession of the Marches with Camerino, of the Duchy of Benevento, of the Principality of Ponte Corvo, of the legations of Bologna, Ravenna and Ferrara, with the exception of that part of Ferrara

* *Mirabilis Liber*, qui prophetias revelationesque, necnon res mirandas, praeteritas, presentes ac futuras aperte demonstrat.

on the left bank of the Po, so that the Austrians have a right of garrison in the towns of Ferrara and Commachio. This article obliges the Pope to hold inviolable all acquisitions made under the title of national domains. A condition which served to protect Eugene Beauharnois, whose dotation had been assigned in the ecclesiastical provinces. The Cardinal Gonsalvi protested in June 1815, against the detaching of the district of Ferrara to the north of the Po, the right of the Austrians to garrisons, and of the appropriating of Avignon and the county of Venaissin to France. Since the protest made at Munster against the acts of the Congress of Westphalia, by the nuncio of the Pope, Fabius Chigi, the Popes have not failed to protest against all acts, which admit or confirm spoliations of the church.

The present Pope pays a proper attention to the remains of antiquity at Rome; the Museums are in good order, but according to a barbarous and impolitic law, no antique, now existing or that shall hereafter be discovered, can be transported beyond the Pontifical States. The Austrians have lately made a similar law respecting works of art in the Lombard Venetian kingdom. Several scores of galley slaves are constantly employed in plastering

and propping up the ruins of the Coliseum, as if the Roman government had in perpetual dread before its eyes the singular prophecy or an ancient writer. *Quandiu stat Colysæus, stat et Roma. Quando cadet Colysæus, cadet et Roma. Quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus.*

The private habits of the Pope differ little from those of all sovereign princes, except that the Pope attends the office five times every day, that no woman is ever suffered to enter the Pontifical apartments of the Quirinal, and it is an etiquette that no one should ever dine at the same table. The same ceremony is observed towards the Grand Seigneur at Constantinople. The dishes are brought to the door of the room by a servant, there taken by a prelate, brought to the Pope's physician, who stands before the table; he tastes a small portion of the dish, then gives it to the Major Domo, who puts it on the table. The same ceremony is practised in regard to the wine, and every time the Pope drinks, all in the room fall upon their knees in memory of the cup of our Saviour. A physician and surgeon constantly sleep in the next room to the Pope, and a dentist comes every morning to examine the teeth of his holiness. I happened to be present at a remarkable scene in the room of

this dentist, a small pert man of about twenty-five, dressed in miserable faded black clothes, and his unbrushed shoe half covered by a tarnished buckle. He had been filling a large double tooth of a man, who had the air of being a respectable butcher. The man, who was very restless under the operation and said several times with considerable emphasis, "*sanctissima Virgine,*" got up from the rack, and offering the dentist of his holiness a quarter of a dollar, asked him if he was satisfied. The dentist, calling him "*eccellenza,*" said that he always received a dollar for plugging, and that his excellency's hole was a very large one. The butcher then offered him half a dollar, and after a great many of those extraordinary gestures and exclamations, as if it had been a contest for his head and not for his tooth, and which no nation but the Italian ever indulges in, the dentist of his holiness consented to receive three fourths of a dollar. This little man appeared very ignorant, and the few instruments that he had were ordinary, but most people probably thought them consecrated by being applied to the teeth of the Pope. In the same room there was a recess made into a small chapel, with two candles burning before an image of the Virgin.

Cardinals.—The 1st of January, 1818, there were sixty-four cardinals in the whole Romish Church, one made by Clement XIV., five by Pius VI., three reserved in Petto, and fifty-eight have been created by the present Pope. The fixed number is seventy-two, in memory of the number of the disciples. Sixty cardinals have died during the pontificate of the present Pope, the average of their ages was seventy-five years and three fourths. Among these was Henry Benedict Maria Clement, called Duke of York, born at Rome, the 6th of March, 1725, created a cardinal the 3d of July, 1747, died at Frascati the 13th of July, 1807, and was buried in St. Peter's near the body of James III., where also was placed at the same time the body of his brother Charles Edward. It is well known that Cardinal York was the last descendant of the celebrated house of Stuart. The average age of the Cardinals now living is sixty-seven and a half years; the oldest, aged ninety-six, is Francis Caraffa di Trajetto, born at Naples and created in 1773 by Clement, and the youngest, aged forty-one, is Louis of Bourbon, born in the diocese of Toledo in Spain, and created by Pius in 1800. All the cardinals when created, except fifteen, were past fifty years of age, and all now living, except thir-

teen, are past sixty years. These facts are sufficient to prove that the cardinals neither have, or are capable of leading a debauched life. On the contrary, they enjoy a degree of health, and reach to an age denied to most men, for according to the universal table of Sussmilch, in every thousand born, only eighty-five live to the age of seventy-five years. Few only of the cardinals have been appointed exclusively from family interest. Most of them had already become known by piety and useful labours in the church. Those times, so disastrous and disgraceful, when the Popes had so many nephews, and those nephews built so many splendid palaces and villas, called by the Romans in derision, miracles of St. Peter, are now almost as much forgotten at Rome, as the times when horses were made consuls and eunuchs emperors. Indeed, I doubt much, if thirty lawgivers can be found in any public assembly, possessing more dignity, propriety, and respectability of mien and deportment, and less marked by profligacy of conduct and wickedness of heart, than the thirty cardinals now living in Rome. I do not speak of the unbecoming custom of publishing books regulating for the whole year the days, when the most eminent and reverend cardinals shall wear red, or rose, or violet coloured

robes, or of the order forbidding the cardinals to wear rings on Good Friday, or of the childish, disgusting, and ridiculous ceremony of having their robes, while they are at prayer on their knees, gracefully twisted and untwisted by a "corditarius," or of receiving a square cap or a red "solo deo," a purple, or red, or green, bound book from the attendant at their feet, according as priests and precedents may have determined. It fills every stranger with contempt and indignation to see the holy hour of prayer consumed in these empty and unmeaning ceremonies.

Cardinal Gonsalvi has great celebrity for political talents, and most people probably see vast sagacity and profoundness in his extraordinary eyebrows. He is author of the "Motu Proprio" of 1816, which gave a new constitution to the ecclesiastical states, and which has caused him to be regarded with much distrust and enmity by the other cardinals, who have already failed in several attempts to procure his removal. Cardinal Fontana, much known in Italy for his accurate knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, his vast ecclesiastical learning, and also for several works both literary and theological, particularly lives of learned Italians inserted in the great work of Fabroni, (*Vitae Italorum doctrinâ*

praestantium) was employed in 1816, with some other prelates, in order to prepare a code to set limits to the power of the Inquisition, to compose a code for the government of the University, and to determine in what towns of the pontifical states the establishments of public instruction should be placed. He is now at the head of the Propaganda, the Index, and employed in the "Correzione de Libri della Chiesa Orientale." The other resident cardinals, excepting Litta and Somaglia, one of whom will probably be the next Pope, are only known by pastoral letters addressed to different bishops. All the cardinals are employed in the different departments, which are very numerous, consisting of twenty-two congregations, and more than sixty tribunals, all permanent in Rome, besides being members of the pontifical chapel and family. Thus, by attending faithfully to their daily duties and prayers, and a considerable indulgence in sleep, a great resource of the Italians, they doubtless contrive to employ all the hours of the day with perfect innocence. The cardinals, who live at Rome, occupied in the government of the church, have a salary of three thousand dollars, but they are obliged to maintain at least two coachmen, four horses, as many carriages, and six servants, but are

not obliged to give dinners or festivals. There is at present no cardinal very rich, though several belong to great families, as, for instance, there are two cardinals in the Doria family alone, and in the palace of that name you may see two state canopies, and two state chairs turned to the wall, to give notice that the seat must not be profaned. I recollect seeing in a chiosk of the Sultan, near Constantinople, branches of thorn laid for the same purpose upon a marble floor, where the grand Signior had once sat. Different cardinals are always seen in large parties at Rome, but it is not accounted a becoming respect to allow dancing in their presence. They play much at cards, such games as "ecarter," "reversi," and chiefly, at a round and remarkably simple game played much in Italy, but the name of which I do not now recollect. The cardinals Somaglia, Albani, Fesch, Haefflin, and Piatti, frequent various drawing-rooms, particularly of the Princess Pauline Borghese Bonaparte; but the rigid cardinals seldom allow themselves to leave their houses in the evening. During the French times, Cardinal Albani lost 140 of his most precious antiques; and at the restoration of Louis, his family, unable to pay for the transportation from Paris, sold them all, except the relief of the Antinous, to the duke of Modena.

Average reigns of the Popes.—Ciaconius with his continuators agree, that, excluding the present Pope, 254 popes have reigned, beginning from St. Peter, whose reign commenced in the thirty-third year of our Lord. Sandini makes but 251; but, on the other hand, Burius has contrived to give the names of 260 pontiffs. These slight differences are easily accounted for by the different opinions held concerning Pseudo, schismatic and anti-popes, and by the errors, exceedingly difficult to avoid in the early ages of the church, in settling the precise number of the popes, who have borne the same title, such as the Innocents, Stephens, Benedicts, and Johns; there being twenty-three of this last name alone, as early as 1410. It is no great matter, if those catholic calculations are in some measure fictitious as to the first centuries of the church; for the list of popes from 1000 is ascertained with sufficient certainty. Beginning, therefore, at A. D. 1000, 112 have reigned to 1800; making the average of each reign, seven years and one month. Whereas, in France, from Hugh Capet to Louis XVI., and in England from William the conqueror to George IV., the reigns have exceeded the average of twenty years. This remarkable difference in the reigns may be well accounted for by the period of life at which the popes have been

created. Of the whole number of pontiffs since A.D. 1000, only six have been elected under thirty years of age, and the longest period of interregnum was three years. Thirty-seven popes have been made martyrs; six have been married before their elevation; one, Celestin, resigned; one, Paul II., expelled all literary men from his court and council, as being hereticks, and encumbered with useless knowledge, and eleven nephews have succeeded to the papal uncle. The scandalous history of the Papess* Joanna, said to have been born at Mentz, in France, is no longer credited.

“ Ecce regnat mulier Moguntina,
Illa papatam orbis designat.”

From this time began the vulgar and absurd story of setting the Pope upon an open chair. The truth is, that in the commentaries upon the rituals, mention is made of two small stone seats, upon which the popes by a wise institution were placed, representing to them the low and earthly estate, from which they had risen to the holy and ancient seat of St. Peter, precisely as at this day, and with the same meaning, when the new Pope approaches the

* Ciaconii, vitae et res gestae Pontificum, &c. Vol. I. p. 640.

altar, the master of ceremonies, placing himself on his knees, sets fire to a quantity of tow upon a gilded reed, at the same time chaunting these words, “ Sancte Pater, sic transit gloria mundi.” One of the above named seats was called stercoraria, because the priest chaunted, while the Pope was seated upon it, the eighth verse of 2d chap. of 1st B. of Kings. *Suscitat de pulvere egenum, et de stercore elevat pauperem: ut sedeat cum principibus et solium gloria teneat.*

CHAPTER III.

ROMAN GOVERNMENT.

Government retains much of the French form—organized by constitution of July, 1816—baronial rights abolished—the rota—A. C., Segnatura, and other courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction—Roman laws always subsidiary in Italy to the municipal ones—nature of those municipalities—law of succession, entails and primogenitures—what property is still susceptible of entail—great opposition to Cardinal Gonsalvi, on account of this constitution—no penal or criminal code—Roman senator—privileges, &c.—Camerlengo—nature, &c.—preponderant power of Austria in Italy—fears and hopes of the Romans in relation to that power.

THE Roman government is still apparently ecclesiastical, though it has assumed a modern lay form, for no persons are eligible to civil offices, who have not received the degree of Abbot. The governor of Rome never appears without a long strip of silk hanging down behind to denote his dignity. The administration has retained much of the organization given it by the French, and which organization was confirmed by *Motu proprio*,* of July 6, 1816. In the course of the *Motu Proprio*, the following unexpected concession

* *Motu Proprio*, means in Roman as well as in Tuscan states, the decree of the sovereign.

appears, "New habits substituted for the old, new opinions and fresh information spread over all branches of administration, and public economy, require the adoption of a system more adapted to the present condition of the inhabitants of the pontifical states;" though it ends with the following paragraph, which like many other paragraphs of the same construction, is less relished every day. "Animated with all these thoughts, of our own will, certain knowledge, and in the plenitude of our apostolic and sovereign power, we do decree." The pontifical states are divided into delegations, of which the delegates are named by the Pope. By the nineteenth article, all baronial rights are abolished in the delegations of Bologna, Ferrara, Romagna, Marca, Umbria and in the duchies of Camerino and Benevento. In the other provinces where such rights have been restored by the decree of the Pro-Secretary of state, of July, 1814, they are not to be resumed without the especial approbation of the present head of that department. These provinces are that part of the Pope's dominions bordering on the Mediterranean, and north of about the 43d degree of latitude. It is more than half the dominion, but it does not appear that so late as January, 1819, any grants had been made by the secretary for the resuming of those

rights. The Rota* at Rome, is a court of appeal in all causes beyond the value of 825 dollars from the courts of "First Instance," which are not subject to one of the four after courts of appeal in the provinces. The Rota with the A. C. judges in all cases, where the parties so agree. This also is a court of appeal in all cases where the judgment of the "First Instance" is not confined by one of the four provincial courts of Appeal. The Segnatura at Rome has still jurisdiction over all courts in matters of defect of form or mistake of law. None of these tribunals can interfere with the ecclesiastical ones in matters of their competency. Judges to sit in the "First Instance" must have reached the age of 25, "laureati," have practised three years and have respectability of birth. Judges of the tribunals of appeal must be at least 30 years of age, and possessing five years of practice. Until a new code shall be promulgated, the common law, aided by the canon law, and the Apostolical constitutions, shall prevail in all the tribunals.

* Rota is so called either because the judges sit at a round table, or because they have the management in turn. This tribunal was formerly much like the French parliaments. A. C., are the initials of Auditor Camerae."

Criminal Justice.—The governors of delegations shall have jurisdiction in offences punished by fines, or by punishments equivalent to a year of public labour. In each delegation there shall be a criminal tribunal; to this tribunal lies an appeal from the governor. There is no appeal from this tribunal, if the punishment appointed does not exceed the galleys or five years of public labour, unless one or more of the judges shall have voted for a discharge, or a milder punishment.

In punishments awarded exceeding the above specifications, appeals lie to tribunals constituted much like the tribunals of appeals in civil trials.

The above regulations do not disturb the privileges belonging to the Holy Inquisitors, congregations of bishops, the prefect of the holy palace and all military tribunals. All other privileged criminal jurisdictions are annulled. The tribunals mentioned in the above sentence refer to special crimes, which it is not necessary to mention. The inquisition at present chiefly concerns itself with priests, who lead a debauched life, or abuse the confession. During 1818, it condemned only one layman to the galleys for stealing church plate. In most other countries he would have been hanged for this offence.

The use of the Torture and the Cord* are abolished. In capital causes, if the prisoner requires that the witnesses shall be confronted with him, it cannot be refused. All trials are secret. The ancient municipal statutes are abolished. I have heard it remarked by a foreign minister, now resident at the court of Rome, and well known for vast and accurate learning, that the Roman laws have always been subsidiary to the municipal ones in Italy. The learned Morellet, of Venize, has collected the statutes of 300 Italian municipalities; thirty-seven of these were in the Venetian states alone.

Before the French revolution, the Roman states were divided into municipalities, each possessing its distinct laws, budget, and finances; and when the Pope wanted money, he was obliged to ask each one of them. The origin of these municipalities was, in general, about the time that cities were surrounded by walls, and erected into separate republics. It will not be supposed, that they are as ancient as the Roman municipia, though

* Cord consisted in hoisting a man suspended by the shoulders, fifteen or twenty feet, and suffering him to fall with his whole weight within three or four feet of the ground, when the cord suddenly stopped him.

the name is derived from those institutions. They were truly *civitates faederatae*, but acknowledging the supremacy of the government in certain matters of appeal, finance, and jurisdiction.

As to the law of succession, the civil law is retained, with five unimportant exceptions, excluding women from inheriting under certain circumstances. In all other cases, the males and females shall succeed in the order prescribed by the latest "Justinian code." Brothers are not obliged to pay the portion of a sister till that sister shall be married, (or, as the Italian law calls it, "*collocata*,") or till she shall have reached the age of twenty-five; but brothers are bound to maintain their sisters till one of those periods. Entails and primogenitures remain abolished in the same provinces, and on the same conditions as the baronial rights. Entails, however, remain on all estates that have suffered no alteration or change of proprietor during the late government, and which have a value of 15,000 dollars. New entails may be created in every part of the state, upon the condition expressed in the preceding sentence; but upon landed property alone, excepting galleries of statues, pictures, collections of natural history, of anatomy, astronomical apparatus, libraries, and, in

general, whatever has connexion with the arts and sciences. These entails, however, cannot pass four descents, excepting entails in favour of certain charitable purposes.

All personal services performed for the benefit of barons, all privileges of bake-houses, market-houses, &c., all reservations of hunting or fishing on estates not belonging to the individual; all rights to mill seats, quarries, &c., not on the land of the baron, are abolished.

The constitution, of which I have given the above outline, came into operation on the 1st day of September, 1816; but even in the spring of 1818, there were still many places that had not submitted to its ordinances. In the spring of 1817, Cardinal Rivarola, aided by a large majority of the college, addressed a long letter to Cardinal Gonsalvi, Secretary of State and author of this system, complaining with much acrimony of the changes which his Eminence had thought proper to effect, of the revolutionary principles which directed those changes, and pointing to the overthrow of the ecclesiastical government which those changes obviously threatened. The secretary of state did not think proper to answer this letter, or to cause any notice, public or private, to be taken of it.

The party for the old Regime is more numerous and powerful in the ecclesiastical states, than in any of the new modelled governments of Italy; inasmuch as the estates of the old nobility were little injured, few new nobles were created; and, at the restoration in 1814, the whole government was put at once into the keeping of cardinals and other ecclesiastics, who have never been much known in any country for love of innovation.

Except in the time of the French, there never has been any penal or criminal code in the pontifical states, and at the present time it is by no means uncommon to find the same offence punished during the same session, by punishments widely differing from each other. The crime is defined according to the ordinance of some pope, and the punishment is appointed at the discretion of the judge. These ordinances have produced, during several ages, a vast mass of decisions, often essentially opposed to each other, and for which an exceedingly good example may be found in the rescripts, novelli, and constitutions, of the Roman emperors.

The celebrated name of Roman Senator still remains. He has the privilege of residing in the capitol: of judging all causes of the city of

Rome in the first instance ; of holding the use of all the prisons, and being chief of the guards of the capitol. He is appointed by the Pope with a salary of 2000 dollars. But his dignity is exclusively municipal ; his salary is small ; and his privileges are also small, being entirely subject to the Pope and Camerlengo, so that there are many examples where the office has been strenuously refused ; as was particularly the case three years ago with a Genovese prince ; and the present senator, head of the great Corsini family, accepted the charge only after repeated solicitations, and stating great and numerous difficulties, difficulties which he has lately renewed, on account of the disrespect practised towards him, in not informing him of a festival given last summer in the capitol to the King of Naples.

The highest dignity in name, after the Pope, is that of Camerlengo, now held by the Cardinal Pacca. This is a barbarous name of the middle ages, signifying *"master of the chamber," at present only known at Rome, where it means the Cardinal who administers the finances, and is also at the head of the state during Conclaves ; at that time he has the right to coin money, publish edicts, &c. But, in fact, the present secretary of

* This is the "Praefectus Cubiculi," "aerarii quaestor"—vid. Du Cange, v. Camerlengus.

state is absolute, the Pope being glad, from his age and infirmities, to find so faithful a steward. Lastly, according to the doctrine of Gregory VII., the Pope is above all temporal and spiritual powers. This doctrine, till the late revolutions, was acknowledged in Italy, Spain, and Portugal. But in France, since the celebrated assembly of the clergy, in 1689, a division has been made of the power temporal and spiritual. This is called the doctrine of the Gallican church, and has caused the Index to be much augmented, even with the names of the most celebrated French ecclesiastics. This doctrine also sets forth, that the Pope is not infallible, except when agreeing with the whole church ; and that he may be judged and deposed by a oecumenic council for heresy.

Austria is now the preponderant power in Italy ; and as the papal government seeks for protection and existence in the discord and jealousy of other states, Austrian ministers and agents obtain few favours at Rome, while those of England and France are caressed and frequently permitted the exercise of privileges little consistent with the dignity of the religion or of the court. Since the Lombard Venetian kingdom was apportioned off to Austria, Rome has looked to that quarter with that dismay and distrust with which Italy has been

often taught to regard the movements of the north. The alarm has often been spread, that Austria was preparing to take possession of the pontifical states; and in the spring of 1815 it was reported all over Italy, that the Austrian troops, just fresh from conquering the kingdom of Naples, were turning back to march to the conquest of its northern neighbour. Even in the coffee-houses upon the Roman Corso, the outline of the new government was openly discussed—the propriety and fitness of abolishing all convents—of sending all cardinals to their bishoprics, and of forbidding the creation of new ones—of preserving St. Peter's for the dignity of religion, the glory of the arts and the gratification of travellers—of reducing the Pope to a mere spiritual head of the church, of removing from him troops and all officers, including civil, ecclesiastical or military, that pertain to the state of sovereignty—in short, of moulding him into such a sort of personage as the Patriarch of Constantinople. There is no doubt but such a government would be approved by the people, for their employments would be more numerous and accessible, nothing but a black collar at present being received.

“ Non abbiano pazienza
Non vogliamo più eminenza
Non vogliamo più santità
Ma equaglienza e libertà.”

CHAPTER IV.

PRISONS, POLICE, ASSASSINATIONS, AND GALLEY SLAVES IN THE PONTIFICAL STATES.

Number of Persons confined in all the Pontifical States, and in the city of Rome—for what offences—cost of prisoners per day—“New Prison” much crowded—criminals examined in secret and at night—assassinations in 1819, and state of Rome as to that matter—regulations of carnivals and theatres—cavalettos—what persons at public places condemned to be publicly whipped—galley slaves—number and crimes—work for the Dutchess of Devonshire for two cents a day.

“ Parvum est
Coercere improbos
Poena.
Nisi probos efficias
Disciplina.”

On the first day of January, 1819, there were nine thousand three hundred and sixty-one persons confined for offences or debt in all the Pontifical States, being about one individual in prison for every two hundred and seventy persons. In Rome and its Comarca, in a population of 241,499 souls, *1642

* Vid. Decreti emanati dalle congregazioni generali e particolari tenute avanti sua Eccellenza Reverendissima Monsignor Pacca. These decrees contain only the name of the person, crime and sentence.

persons were brought before the criminal tribunal at which presides Monsignor Tiberius Pacca, Governor of Rome, during the year ending on the same day. One with six accomplices was accused of parricide, thirteen of homicide, eighty-two of wounds given either "senza pericolo," "con qualche pericolo," or "con pericolo." The manner in which these wounds is given, is not specified, but it is doubtless either with a knife or sharp instrument, as contusion is an offence distinguished from "ferita," and is not nearly as common. Forty-two women were accused of dishonest life—one for the premeditated murder of a sister—one woman for an attempt to commit suicide, was sentenced to three years imprisonment, and a man for the like offence to one year of the galleys—eighteen for carrying knives, severely prohibited by the laws, and six for injury and disrespect to parents. As in all countries, the most common charge is for theft, and whipping on the Cavaletto is the most common punishment. About one third were discharged, in general with an order to appear at the tribunal once every month, and to show evidence of good conduct. The prisoners in all the ecclesiastical states are farmed for thirteen cents a day each, for food and clothes, and I was told that the contractor

gained two cents a day upon each prisoner, and the daily average is nine thousand. I visited all the prisons of Rome, but I shall say a few words only of the one called the "New Prison," though built in 1665, the most spacious and best organized in the city. I saw a hundred and sixty-five men confined for offences of various kinds and degrees, sleeping every night in the same room, and passing every day in the same confined court-yard. Many were waiting to be transported to the galleys. In a small room, thirty-one boys, all under sixteen years, were sitting on a stone floor round a brazier, dirty, ragged, and with hair long and uncombed. In an upper room there were two priests, both confined for licentious conduct; one was past sixty years of age. In the second story is the room for examination; there the prisoner is often brought in the dead of the night, to the presence of two or three judges and soldiers, and every word he breathes, is written down to be brought against him on trial. The night before, one prisoner had been examined seven hours. I observed in the prisons of Rome a circumstance that has often struck me in the prisons of other countries. The greater part of the prisoners were marked by no particular expression of hardihood, shame, cunning or malice; on the contrary

the general expression was one of great apathy and absence of thought and feeling. The truth is, that the greater part of men, who commit crimes, do it from poverty or some unlucky accident, and from no strong original propensity; and even if they have more disposition than others to such acts, it seldom amounts to a settled and distinct expression.

The following assassinations came within my own knowledge the first two months of the winter of 1819, at Rome. January 7, a young man, nephew of the Pope's chief cook, killed another with four blows of a dagger in coming out of the theatre Valle at half past ten at night. It was supposed that he would redeem this crime by six or eight months exile from Rome. February 6. A vegetable seller, past sixty years, was killed in the street Frattina, at seven in the evening, by a young man, a cobbler, with a long knife cutting on both sides, and called by the Romans, *Genovese*. It was a quarrel about a public woman. Not a blow was given, but the cobbler suddenly drew his knife and stabbed the unhappy wretch six times in the bowels. The dexterity of the Italians in these horrid operations is sufficiently evident from the number of blows they succeed in giving before interference or

resistance can be made. February 10. A girl, seventeen years old, was killed in a shop near the fountain of Trevi, by a man sixty-two years of age, with seven cuts of a razor. The girl bled to death; jealousy. It appears that during the past year thirteen were accused of homicide, and eighteen for carrying knives; still assassinations have diminished since the French came into Italy, and were probably never so few at Rome as during 1818. Formerly Bologna and Genoa were most known among Italian cities for assassination. The number in the last named place being usually from thirty to thirty five monthly. They are least numerous in Tuscany. Before Corsica was annexed to France the annual average of assassinations in the whole island, from 1700 to 1782, upon a medium population of a hundred and twenty-eight thousand souls, was 800, making in that period sixty-five thousand six hundred persons killed by assassination, at least one fourth of the annual mortality.

Monsignor Tiberius Pacca is as severe and unrelenting, as his name would seem to denote, and his authority is scarcely defined by any rules or precedents. By a new regulation shops must be all closed on Sunday, except those where food is sold, and which are allowed to be kept open

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till 10 o'clock. This is an unexampled and irksome instance of rigour to the Romans; nevertheless, as another example of inconsistency, of which the French government gave several in reference to the same subject in 1814, the national guard may generally be seen exercising on that day at 3 o'clock at the foot of the Palatine. Throughout the whole year there are four stationary cavalettos, and six others called ambulant ones. The first day of the carnival is usually consecrated to the guillotining a man in the Piazza del Popolo, but in 1819 this ceremony was omitted on account of a scruple of the Pope, who, not expecting to live through the year, desired that no more capital executions should take place during his life. During the whole carnival there is a permanent cavaletto in the Piazza del Popolo, another in St. Charles, and a third in the Piazza di Verazia. Two judges, two advocates with a piquet of gens d'arms and the executioner with the scourge are attached to each. The disorderly person is seized by the gens d'arms, brought to this tribunal, judged in a few minutes, and without delay, tied across the bar of the cavaletto, and beaten upon his hams the just number of stripes. "*Hominem nudari et deligari et virgas expediri jubet.*" A decree of thirty articles was pasted up at the corners of all the streets, regulat-

ing the proceedings of the carnival. An instantaneous cavaletto was threatened for the slightest departure from any of these regulations. By art. 3d., it was forbidden to mask in the dress of an abbot, ecclesiastic, or any religious person whatsoever; and by art. twenty-eighth, whoever shall dare put his hand to any offensive instrument shall be punished, for that act alone, with five years of galleys; whoever shall give the slightest blow with such an instrument, with ten years; whoever shall give a blow, accompanied with danger, with the galleys for life; and whoever shall give a blow, accompanied with great danger, shall be condemned to the last punishment. This decree, inflicting even the punishment of death, was issued a few days before the carnival with this simple preface, "*Previo il vivo oracolo della santita di Nostro Signore Papa Pio Settimo felice mente regnante ordiniano quante segue.*" Thus the Pope and Monsignor Tiberius have the power of putting people to death whenever they may think fit. As a further illustration of the Roman government and police, I shall extract a few articles from a decree published respecting the management of the theatres. Art. 8. If any actor on the stage or musician in the orchestra shall use any expression or

gesture contrary to good morals and public decency, he shall be fined fifty dollars, and receive the public cavaletto according to circumstances.

Art. 9. The leader of the orchestra, departing from the music prescribed, shall receive the public cavaletto. Art. 11. If a blow shall be given in the theatre, even without arms, the person so offending shall be condemned to the galleys for ten years. If the hand shall be put to any instrument whatsoever, even if no blood follows, to the galleys for life, and under other circumstances to capital punishment. Art. 13. Whoever shall give any sign of approbation or disapprobation when any person comes into the theatre, shall be immediately expelled from it, and receive the cavaletto. Art. 14. Whoever shall give any indecent or unbecoming sign of disapprobation at any part of the play, or shall give unbounded applause, shall receive the cavaletto. These two last articles are inserted to protect persons odious to the people for political conduct, and to prevent the people taking advantage of sentiments in the play to express their own opinions. All coachmen departing from the rules made for carriages, shall be taken from their boxes and receive the cavaletto. These are some of the conditions upon which the people

of Rome are allowed to see plays, and that too during only a part of the carnival. This decree is signed by the governor, two Roman princes, a duke, a marquis, a baron and a knight.

Galley slaves.—All persons, condemned to work in chains, are called in Italy galley slaves. Those who work in great hollow wooden wheels to raise mud from the harbour of Leghorn; those who clear the docks at Civita Vecchia; those who work in the arsenal at Venise; those who dig for antiquities at two cents a day for the Dutchess of Devonshire at Rome; those who restore and prop up the Coliseum; all these alike are denominated galley slaves. I have seen at Naples three persons, one a lad of eighteen, and the others men of thirty and fifty-five, all chained together, and going through the streets with loads on their backs. How much of the noise in the streets of Rome is made up of the tinklings of the bells of jackasses loaded with pozzolano, and the clanking of the chains of galley slaves? In the year 1818, four hundred thirty-five individuals, condemned by all the tribunals in the pontifical states, were sent to the galleys. Of these, twelve were condemned for homicide; six for robbing, under various circumstances; one for various crimes; one for incestuous infanticide;

one for counterfeiting ; all the above for life. Two for thirty and twenty-five years, for various crimes ; and one for licentious conduct, three years. The great proportion of punishments are for five years for night robberies, qualified thefts, wounds with danger of life, &c. There are several remarkable discordances in the sentences. These slaves are all guarded by soldiers, and the proceeds of their work belong to the state ; but they have never yet supported themselves.

CHAPTER V.

CASTING OUT OF DEVILS, RELICS, &c.

Disease of being possessed, a common one—particular office in Romish church for that disease—signs by which the demon is known to possess a person—office of exorcism performed on a woman in the Church of Ara Caeli—demon went into the finger of a peasant—relics of bones of martyrs, &c.—crown of thorns given to St. Louis—plunder of Loreto sent to Paris—shiver of the rib of a Saint, put into a box and sold with a certificate in Latin of its authenticity—parchment, fur, and comb, relics of the Princess Theodolinda—jewels now about relics false—list of all the relics in St. Peter's.

THE disease of being *Possessed, appears to have been a common one in the early ages of the church. And in the Romish Church of the present day, there is a particular office prescribed for exorcism, and the principal symptoms of the disease, as mentioned in the chapter of the Roman Ritual de Exorcizandis obsessis et daemoniis," are, speaking various words in an unknown language, or when they are spoken being understood by the possessed, declaring and explaining things remote and hidden, and exhibiting proofs of strength beyond the person's age or nature. The exorcism may be performed

* Vid. Article, demonomanie in 8 vol. of Dictionnaire des Sciences Medicales.

in the church or a private house. Whenever the demon is observed to harass the patient beyond measure, then the priest will read the office with increased fervour, dignity, and authority, and if any part of the body shall be particularly agitated, or be pricked, or any swelling shall appear, that part shall immediately be marked with the sign of the cross and sprinkled with holy water. The priest shall also command the demon to declare if he is detained in the body by witchcraft or incantation, and if the possessed have any magical or enchanted symbol, it shall be burnt.

One day in the month of March, a priest had just finished in the church of Ara Caeli at Rome, performing the office of exorcism upon the person of a woman, highly convulsed and uttering the most strange and terrific sounds. The woman was, in fact, exceedingly emaciated, with a hard, dry and yellow skin, a forced smile drawn about the muscles of the mouth, the wrinkles both of the forehead, and the face starting and setting in various directions, and a wild, restless cast to the eye. "It is the most obstinate devil," said the priest, "that I have ever known," and begun again, for the fifth time, the lesson from St. Luke. "And the seventy returned again with joy, saying, Lord even

the devils are subject unto us through thy name." "I exorcise thee, most foul spirit, know and fear, Satan, enemy of the faith and of human kind, root of all evil, sum of all vices, seducer of man, betrayer of the nations, parent of envy, avarice and discord, cause of all sufferings, why dost thou stand and resist when thou knowest that the Saviour shall destroy thy strength." The woman was still violent and frantic. Again, said the priest, "I adjure thee, ancient serpent, most hard hearted dragon, to depart from the presence of the body—to depart with all thy guile, and fallacy and wickedness." And then tearing a strip of paper into two pieces, he asked the woman how much of the devil still remained in her. The woman shrieked, rolled on the pavement of the church, and at last cried out in a loud voice "the devil has gone out of me into the finger of that big peasant, who stands near the confessional." Upon which the peasant uttered a deep groan, thrust his finger into his mouth and bit it to the bone. All present turned pale, closed their arms together, and began to recite Ave Marias and Pater Nosters, and shrunk back, as if for fear lest the devil should come into them, and till it was quite certain that he had taken full possession of the peasant. This scene of excitement and ab-

gurdity was only finished by the interference of the police.

RELICS.

“ But tell !

Why thy canonized bones, hearsed in death,
Have burst their cerements ?”

A tribunal composed of eight cardinals, of whom Cambaceres is one, assisted by numerous counselors, presides over the distribution of indulgences and sacred relics. In the year *1237 the barons, who governed the Latin empire of the East, in the absence of the new emperor, being in great want of funds, pawned the holy crown of thorns of our Saviour for fifty thousand dollars to some Venetian merchants. This sacred relic was about to become the property of Nicholas Quirini, a Venetian banker, who was preparing to redeem the pledge, when the Emperor Baldwin presented it to the King of France, Saint Louis, together with a piece of the true cross, the linen of the Saviour, chain, sponge and cup of the Passion, part of the skull of St. John the Baptist, and the rod of Moses. In the year 1798, General Marmont took possession of

* Daru, *his. de Venize*, vol. i. p. 357.

Loreto, expecting to find there a vast treasure, but the papal General Colli, had removed most of the precious relics. The following articles were, however, taken and sent by the commission of arts to the Directory, with the following indecent specification. “* 1. An image of wood, pretended miraculous, of the Virgin Mary. 2. A tatter of old woollen camlet, said to have been the robe of Mary. 3. Nine broken porringers of bad crockery, said to have made part of her household furniture. The removal was made in the presence of citizens Villetard, Monge and Moscati, physician of Milan.” After the concordat made by Napoleon with Pius VII. the statue was restored, but naked. These two facts, though not particularly applicable to the subject, seem to show that neither the barons nor the French general, though at an interval of six hundred years, demeaned themselves much in the spirit of true Catholics, and they serve also to show the superstition of that church concerning some of the most important relics in existence. At present the office of relics gives about two thousand dollars annually for the benefit, as I was told, of the Capucins of Monte Cavallo. These relics are in general

* *Moniteur*, An. v. No. 160.

bits of bones of martyrs, or saints, found in Italy, or transported from the east, with long testimonials of their authenticity. Such subjects never can be exhausted, for the Roman government considers as martyrs all bones found in the catacombs of Rome, probably as much entitled to the honour of martyrdom as the bones in the catacombs of Paris. The relic is sold indiscriminately, and in one instance, of which I had a personal knowledge, cost, including the little box in which it is put, two hundred and fifty cents. The director merely asked me what was my christian name, and then without delay or ceremony took out of a tin case, marked with the Saint's name, a small bone, which appeared to have been a rib, and cut off a slice about the size and thickness of a fly's wing. This shiver was glued into the box, about the size and shape of a boy's bird call, and attached with a ribbon to a certificate, sealed with the great seal of the office.

Fr. J. Bartholomeus Murochio. ord. Eremiti St. Augustini, &c. Sacarii Apostolici Praefectus, &c. Universis et singulis praesentes nostras inspecturis fidem facimus indubiam atque testamur, qualiter nobis exhibitus pluribus sacris reliquiis, eas authenticis locis desumptas, ac documentis authenticis

sigilloque munitas recognovimus; ex quibus extraximus sacram particulam ex oss. B. S. Theodori Mar. quam reverenter collocavimus in theca argenti, ovalis figurae, unico crystallo munita, a posteriori vero funiculo serico rubri coloris colligata. Sigilli nostri impressione in cera hispanica rubra obsignata, dono dedimus cum facultate dicta—sacra—Reliquia—apud se retinendi, aliis donandi et in quacunque ecclesia, oratorio, seu cappella publice fidelium adorationi exponendi ad majorem D. O. M. gloriam et suorum sanctorum cultum et venerationem. In quorum fidem, etc. datum Romae hac die 15 Jan. 1819. It was enjoined on me to hold this relic in great veneration, to profit of all opportunities of showing it to good Catholics, and never to keep it in a chamber where any one slept. *In the Roman calendar there are two saints of the above name. The birth place of the martyr is unknown; though he appears to have lived about the year 300. He suffered much in the persecution of the Christians in the time of Maximinian and Maximin. He set on fire with his own hand a famous temple of Cybele in the

* Mesanguy Vite des Santi, vol. vi. p. 168. Italian translation. See also Gibbon, chap. 16. for the above mentioned persecutions, and also some details on bones and martyrs.

city of Amasia, in Asia Minor, and at last was himself burnt to death making the sign of the cross on all parts of his body. In the cathedral at Mouza, the same in which is kept the celebrated iron crown, the traveller is shown two relics of the great Princess Theodolinda, a large parchment fan and a bone comb with a gold back. For the present I shall give a list of the relics preserved in St. Peter's at Rome, copied by a priest belonging to that cathedral. All the churches in Italy possess relics, and there are two or three at Rome that contain more than St. Peter's. Many of these relics are highly ornamented; but what Lady Montague says of the value of the jewels on the holy skulls and bones in the German Catholic churches, even in 1716, has probably been true for many years of similar skulls and bones in Italy.

THE holy sweat of our Saviour Jesus Christ.
 The relics of the blessed Mary of the incarnation, virgin.
 The relics of the blessed Veronica Giuliani, virgin.
 The relics of Saint Hyacintha Mariscotti, virgin.
 A bone of Saint Giovanna Franca of Chantal.
 The relics of Saint Mary, Egyptian.
 The head of Saint Petronilla, virgin, the body of whom is in this holy basilick.
 The relics of Saint Mary Magdalene, penitent.
 The rib of Saint Judith, virgin and martyr.

The relics of Saint Bibiani Theodora Lucia, and Germiniano, martyrs, and of Saint Mary of Giacomino.
 The relics of Saints Susanna, and Colomba, virgins and martyrs, and of Saints Balbina and Rufina, virgins.
 The relics of Saint Barbara, virgin and martyr.
 The relics of Saint Lucia, virgin and martyr.
 The relics of blessed Crispino of Viterbo, confessor.
 The relics of blessed Gaspare of Bono, confessor.
 The relics of blessed Giov. Giuseppe, confessor of the cross.
 The relics of blessed Andrea Ibernion, confessor.
 The relics of blessed Bernardo of Oppida, confessor.
 The relics of blessed Franco of Girolamo, confessor.
 The relics of blessed Guiseppe Oriol, confessor.
 The relics of blessed Nicolo of Longobardi, confessor.
 The relics of blessed Michele, of Santi, confessor.
 The relics of blessed Bonaventura of Potenza, confessor.
 The relics of Saint Luigi Consaga, confessor.
 The bone of the leg of Saint Peter of Alcantara, and the head of St. Antoni of Padova, confessor.
 The heart of Saint Filippo of Neri, confessor.
 The relics of Saint Bernardino of Siena, confessor.
 The relics of Saint Orso, Abbot, and of Saint Alessio, confessor.
 The sackcloth garment, tunic, a hair of Saint Francis of Assisi, and the blood which issued from his wounds.
 The relics of Saint Rocco, confessor, who with the sign of the cross liberated many cities of Italy from the plague.
 The sacred spear which pierced the side of our Saviour Jesus Christ.
 The relics of the blessed Giuseppe Maria Tomassi, cardinal of the holy church.
 A rib of the blessed Giov. Ribera, patriarch of Antiochia, and archbishop of Valenza.
 The relics of blessed Aponso Maria of Liguorio, bishop of Saint Agata of Goti.

The relics of the blessed Francesco Passadar Domenicano, confessor.
 The flesh of the blessed Antonia Fatati, bishop and confessor, and vicar and canon of this Vatican basilick.
 The relics of blessed Gregoria Barbarigo, bishop of Padova, confessor.
 The relics of Saint Carlo Borromeo, archbishop of Milano, and cardinal of the holy church.
 The relics of Saint Tommaso of Villanova, and the chin of Saint Servazio, bishop, Tongrese, confessor.
 The bones of Saint Gregory bishop of Neocesarea, called Taumaturgo, confessor.
 The joint of the knee of Saint Rufillo, bishop of Torlimpopoli, confessor.
 The arm of Saint Gregory Nazianzeno, and the shoulder of Saint Gio. Crisostomo, patriarch of Constantinople, the bodies of whom repose in this hallowed basilick.
 The relics of the Saints Martino, and Ilario, bishops, and of Saint Paolo, hermit, and of Saint Antonio, abbot.
 A leg of Saint Lazzarus, bishop of Marseilles, and disciple of our Saviour Jesus Christ.
 The bones and hair of Saint Pio V. pontif.
 The relics of Saint Ormisda, pope and confessor, the body of whom is in this hallowed basilick.
 The relics of the Saints Girolamo, Basilio, and Gregorio, the great pope whose body is in this basilick.
 The relics of the Saints Leoni, I, II, III and IV, popes and confessors, whose bodies repose in this basilick.
 Part of the cross of our Saviour Jesus Christ.
 The head of Saint Damaso, pope, and the arm of Saint Joseph of Arimatea, who took the body of our Saviour from the cross.
 The quilts with which the bodies of the holy martyrs were covered.

The relics of Saint Trifone, martyr.
 A rack with which they lacerated the bodies of the martyrs
 The head of Saint James, martyr, who was divided.
 The rib of Saint Venanzio of Camerino, martyr.
 The relics of Saint Trofimo Arcives of Arles, confessor.
 The bones of Saint Erasmo, bishop and martyr.
 The head of Saint Quirino, and the head of Saint Lamberto bishop of Trajetto, martyr.
 The relics of Saint Cristoforo, martyr.
 The relics of Saint Sisto I, pope and martyr, whose body is in this hallowed basilick.
 The throat of Saint Biagio, bishop and martyr.
 The arm of Saint Magno Arcives of Trani, martyr, and the arm of Saint Longinus, martyr, who with a spear pierced the side of our Saviour Jesus Christ on the cross.
 The heads of Saints Menna, and of Saint Sebastiano, martyrs.
 The relics of Saints Sisto II, and Gio I, popes and martyrs.
 The relics of Saint Policarpo, bishop of Smirne, and martyr, and of the Saints Agapito and Ippolito, martyrs.
 The arm of Saint Vincenzo, and the relics of Saints Anastasio and Tesdoro, martyrs.
 A rib of Saint Lorenzo, martyr.
 The shoulder of Saint Stephen, protomartyr.
 A finger of Saint Luke the evangelist.
 The head of Saint Luke, placed in this basilick by Saint Gregorio the great.
 The relics of Saints Bartholomew and James, the greatest apostles.
 The head of Saint Andrew, apostle.
 The most ancient images of Saints Peter and Paul, apostles.
 The finger of St. Peter, chief of the apostles.
 The mantle, and girdle of Saint Joseph, the glorious patriarch, and husband of the most holy virgin.

The flesh and bones of St. Anne, mother of the glorious virgin Mary.

The hair of the most glorious virgin Mary.

The cradle and hay of the manger, of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the veil of his most holy mother, virgin Mary.

A cross given to this hallowed basilick by the emperor Justin, within which is the wood of the most holy cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER VI.

FINANCES OF ECCLESIASTICAL STATES.

Amount of debt at the time of the French revolution—great depreciation—Rome, Venize, and Piedmont in a state of bankruptcy—70,000,000 of paper currency—municipal debt assumed—origin and account of Luogi di Monti—tendency bad—great veneration of the populace for them—nature of the Vaccabili—manner in which the French paid the debt—amount of debt at the return of the government in 1814—relieved by French revolution of 136,000,000—amount of receipts in 1818—ecclesiastical proceeds—number of bishops, &c.

IN the Pontificate of Pius VI. the

Luogi di Monti and Vaccabili,

amounted to	-	-	-	\$37,000,000
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Debts of the *Municipalities assumed

by Pius	-	-	-	40,000,000
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* All municipal lands and property were taken possession of at the same time in the name of the Papal government. Some of these municipalities possessed no estates, and thus, therefore, were relieved of debts without any loss or appropriation. This is particularly true of Gensano, a town on the road to Naples, and now called the most flourishing town in the ecclesiastical states. The municipal debt was first consolidated at three per cent., but it was afterwards reduced to 1 1-2.

Pius also created a debt at three per cent. for the improvement of the

Pontine marshes, of	-	-	\$1,300,000
*A paper currency of	-	-	70,000,000

148,300,000 was, therefore, the whole of the debt at the time of the French irruption into the Roman states; but the Luogi di Monti and Vaccabili had been so reduced by acts of government, that, at that time, only fifteen dollars in a hundred of original stock were paid at the banks of deposit. The truth is, that Piedmont, Venize and Rome were in a state of real and undoubted bankruptcy at the time above mentioned, and in reality those governments had already plundered their subjects as much as the French are known to have done since.

The Luogi di Monti were established in the principal towns of Italy, from about 1500 to

* This paper currency had greatly depreciated at the time of the French revolution, but not one dollar was ever acknowledged by the French authorities. At the return of the Pope, many who had kept their bank notes, presented them to be redeemed. The government answered, that that currency had ceased to have any value by the new financial operations undertaken in the country; that it had been once abolished, and that it would be impossible to acknowledge any other currency or debt, than that existing at the time of the restoration.

1550. It was under Paul III. in 1539, that the first Monti were established in Rome. The object of these Monti was, to check and overcome the usurious practices of the Jews. In 1491, twelve Jew bankers at Padua were ordered to close their magazines on account of the enormous interest received upon goods taken on pawn, and to this day there remains inscribed over the door of the Monti at Bologna, "*Mons pietatis olim adversus Judaeorum pravas usuras erectus.*" Such acts were in conformity with the prejudices of those, and even the present times, against what is opprobriously called usury, and in conformity too with the knowledge, which seems to exist in many governments of the science of political economy. A plan somewhat similar appears to have been adopted at Rome, A. U. C. 786. **Donec tulit opem Caesar, disposito per mensas millies sestertio, factaque mutuandi copia sine usuris per triennium, si debitor populo in duplum praediis cavisset.* But these contrivances have not rooted out the Jews; for it is perfectly well known in the north of Italy, that the Monti, towards the close of the last century, received only five or six per cent., while the

* Tac. Ann. L. 6. s. 5. 17. vid. note to the same section.

Jewish pawn-brokers earned from eight to ten. It is not necessary to repeat here all the reasons which are, however well known, of this singular fact; but they all resolve themselves into the circumstance, that the Monti are organized by government and protected by laws and bounties. These establishments were denominated "Pious" by the council of Trent; and having been encouraged by several bulls, they have since passed into Spain, Germany, &c. "*The account of the Monti of Naples, is, in most respects, applicable to those of other towns in Italy. There are two kinds of Monti; in one, gold, silver and jewels only are received in pawn: in the other, every description of article susceptible of deposit. These articles are all kept two years, and if the owner has paid no interest in the mean time, they are sold at the end of that period. From the purchase money is deducted the sum lent by the Monti, and the amount of interest. The surplus is paid to the owner, if he demands it within thirty years; but it is kept forever to his credit if he pays interest as often as every two years at the rate of six per cent. The Monti is answerable for no injury from

* Reponse de M. l'Abbé Galiani à M. de Sartines.

worms, rust or decay. About half the value is given for the article deposited; but no expenses are paid to the Monti. In Montis of the lower order they give money upon pawn, but without interest, and only twice a week. These days used to be so crowded, that at last the pledges were carried by a class of women, who went by the name of 'impregnatrici,' and who were looked upon as the most debased creatures of the whole population." Finally, the Abbe Galiani recommended that a similar institution should be established in Paris for the benefit of the Hotel dieu. Notwithstanding the opinion of the Abbe, as to the utility of these establishments, three considerable ones have failed in the north of Italy within six years; and it is astonishing that it should not be perceived, that these Monti, by the magnitude of their capital, the size and security of their houses of deposit, the small interest they exact, and in sums below ten dollars no interest at all, offer constant and the best temptations and facilities to a practice allowed on all hands to be pernicious. For every magazine of Monti built, the consequence always will be, that a hospital or poor-house will be built by the side of it before a century. Still it is true, that in every part of Italy

the greatest veneration is felt for these funds. In some towns they are called "sacred," and in times of the greatest riot and tumult the populace have always spared the magazines, and even placed guards to protect them. As to the Luogi di Monti in Rome, the shares at first bore an interest of five per cent. then reduced to four; and in 1689, it was proposed to the holder of shares to redeem or reduce the interest to three per cent. Even after these negotiations were completed, the Monti bore an advance of twenty-five per cent. upon an interest of only three per cent. Corporations, nobles, and the rich deposited all their personal property in these Monti and Vaccabili, which was a singular fund, bearing an interest of six per cent. but which was forfeited to the government, if not sold during the life of the holder, or at least twenty days before his death. In 1786, the interest was again reduced to 2 1-2 per cent. but still these funds maintained themselves as high as twenty-four per cent. advance. The French seized at once, on taking possession of Rome, rents in the Monti and Vaccabili to the amount of 14,000,000 dollars, belonging to the Inquisition, the Propaganda, the Vatican, and the Albani

family. By a decree of the eighteenth * Fructidor 1799 (Sept. 5,) a commission was appointed to examine the claims of all persons upon the Monti, and every claim recognised was redeemed by conveying to the owner confiscated lands and buildings at the rate of five dollars for every hundred. More than half the shares belonged to corporations abolished by the French government, or to nobles exiled or proscribed, so that, after all, the French redeemed less than half the debt at a discount of seventy-five per cent. without including the 70,000,000 of currency which they never acknowledged.† There was a decree passed 22 July, 1809, another August 28, of the same year, and a final one in December, 1810, directing that the Monti should be re-established in the city of Rome, and containing 142 articles prescribing the manner in which they shall be organized and administered. The French government had itself created a debt of 12,500,000 dollars, being the whole amount of public debt at the return or the present government. The French

* Collezione di Carte, &c. Tom. v. page 178.

† Bollettini delle Leggi, &c. Vol. 2, 3 and 13. Part 1. Boll. 136. page 318.

revolution has, therefore, relieved this government of about 136,000,000 of debt, at the expense chiefly of corporations and individuals, the government having lost little comparatively, having recovered all its precious works of art, and the revenue of the state being now double the revenue of 1790. Even without the French revolution, the Italian corporations and stock holders must have lost all, or a large part of their debt, for the fund constantly depreciated, and it would have been impossible for the governments to have paid any per-centage at all. Indeed, as has been related, the governments had already proceeded to acts, as unjust and unwarrantable as were those of the French. When the Italian governments were restored, they found their possessions no longer encumbered and desolated by a vast mass of paper money without credit or value, and their treasuries no longer labouring under an oppressive debt, and about to break to pieces.

Amount of the receipts ending the 1st January, 1819.

Land and property tax	- - - - -	\$2,000,000
Farming of salt and tobacco	- - - - -	1,400,000
Stamps and registers	- - - - -	500,000
Duties of exportation and of importation	- - - - -	650,000

Amount carried forward - \$4,550,000

Amount brought forward	-	\$4,550,000
Sale of grain, &c.	- - - - -	104,000
Lottery of Rome	- - - - -	312,000
Lottery of Tuscany	- - - - -	130,000
From the treasuries of the provinces, &c.	- - - - -	5,000,000
Letter post and horse do.	- - - - -	100,000
Miscellaneous proceeds	- - - - -	700,000
Ecclesiastical proceeds in Italy	- - - - -	400,000
In good years from Spain	- - - - -	200,000
Germany	- - - - -	20,000
France	- - - - -	20,000
		<u>\$11,536,000</u>

These ecclesiastical proceeds arise from dispensations, the one eighth of first fruits, the sale of indulgences, (indulgences are still sold in Portugal under an old bull for the Crusades,) sales of benefices; and much has lately been received for sales of bishoprics in South America. Nothing is received from the Catholic part of the Low Countries, as all ecclesiastical property is there devoted to the support of the Church. Nothing is now received from any country in the east, or any country in which there is an Apostolic Vicar. By the official list of 1818, there are at present two Vicars, twelve Patriarchs, and seven hundred and seven Bishops or

suffragan bishops, in all the world, subject to the nomination and confirmation of the Pope; of these, one is in Boston, one in New-York, one in Philadelphia, one in Baltimore, one in Bardstown in Kentucky, and one in New-Orleans.

The expenses of the Police of the city of Rome are a hundred thousand dollars, and of the Apostolic Palace a hundred and sixty thousand dollars. Except the salaries paid to the different officers in the service of the state, I did not succeed in procuring sufficient information, to account for the expenditure of the remaining part of the above stated revenue.

CHAPTER VII.

STATE OF RELIGION IN ITALY.

Strangers crowd about the Pope and Cardinals at their prayers—Protestant church near pillar of Trajan—artists design in all churches on all days of the week—support and duty of priests—not more corrupt than other European clergy—facts reproachful to the clergy—orders of clergy—festivals in the Roman church—Archbishop of Pisa excommunicates peasants for stealing wood—all excommunicated at Rome, who do not partake of the sacrament—how excommunicated are treated—juggler showing liquefaction of blood of St. Januarius—church grants permission to eat forbidden food—form of the application and the answer—pilgrims and pilgrimages—mechanic of Antwerp.

ON one of the great ceremonies before Christmas, I have seen the Pope kneeling on the floor of a splendid chapel, belonging to St. Peters, before an altar upon which 500 wax candles were burning, and earnestly repeating the prayers for the occasion, in unison with many of the most distinguished cardinals of the church, also upon their knees in different parts of the chapel; at the same time that several hundred strangers were crowding through the door with no little noise and vehemence, were approaching within a few feet of the person of the Pontiff, and had completely sur-

suffragan bishops, in all the world, subject to the nomination and confirmation of the Pope; of these, one is in Boston, one in New-York, one in Philadelphia, one in Baltimore, one in Bardstown in Kentucky, and one in New-Orleans.

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rounded and enveloped those of the cardinals, who happened to be at their devotions behind the line of his holiness. An assembly of Protestants is held every Sunday in a large room near the pillar of Trajan. The government is not ignorant of the fact, but tolerates it, either from a regard to the English, or a disregard to the ancient prejudices and practices of the church. The owner of the room, however, appears to have had more scruples than Cardinal Gonsalvi, for he has been several times on the point of stopping all further proceedings of this heretical assembly, lest evil might befall his house. Recollect that this pillar of Trajan is within the same walls, and not many hundred yards distant from that Vatican, from which so many exterminating and merciless bulls and briefs have issued against the protestants. Artists of all nations are allowed to design in any church at Rome on all days of the week, and at all hours, when the church is regularly open. Travellers are often led up to the railing of an altar to see a work of art at the moment when the priest is celebrating mass. Prayers, incense and criticism are mingled together. Several chapters could be written abounding in facts similar to the foregoing. I do not pretend to say, that these facts savour

only of indulgence, forbearance and liberality on the part of the government; they no doubt betray an equal degree of weakness, and a desire to caress and secure the good favour of foreign nations. Indeed, it is but a sorry policy to suffer foreigners to make light of their dignities and privileges, on occasions, when a few Swiss halberds would be sufficient to enforce a becoming respect. It is a weakness of a different sort to inscribe on a bit of white marble over the gate of St. Lawrence, upon another bit in the Coliseum, and in fifty other places in Rome, "Whoever kisses this cross once, receives a hundred days of absolution."

In relation to priests, the only fixed rule is, that they must have seventy-two dollars of income of their own property. This is called a patrimony; and, if their benefices yield 200 dollars more, it is reckoned a respectable and sufficient support. The office, which must be said every day by the priests, though the act can be dispensed with, consists of matins "praises," first, third, sixth and ninth hour, vespers and "complete." The whole office composed of hymns, lessons from the scriptures, acts of saints, &c. lasts an hour, and the priest has a right to say it all at once, or as it may be convenient and pleasant to him. Those, who have

witnessed the haste, indifference and muttering manner with which the office is said by most priests in Italy, will not doubt that this is rather a professional obligation than a holy and delightful duty. If there is any thing, which would turn away a protestant from all hope of reconciliation with the ancient church, it is the irreverence with which this office is performed. On the other hand, all persons in monasteries are obliged to say the office together, so that neglect is more difficult.

I believe that the greatest reproach of the Italian clergy is that of ignorance; and comparing their numbers, their wretched education, their scanty revenues, and the low order of society from which they are drawn, with the same circumstances belonging to the clergy of other European countries, it will not appear that there are among them uncommon instances of hypocrisy or licentiousness. Two years ago a deacon was executed for murdering his sister; and it is seldom that a priest cannot be found in some of the prisons of Rome, confined for licentious conduct. From the stories that are circulated to the discredit of the clergy, I shall mention only two, to whose authenticity I am especially able to bear testimony. A celebrated sculptor in Rome, was requested by the bishop to

dismiss a priest, who was his secretary, on account of the dissoluteness of his conduct. A priest, in the household of a cardinal, paid a young person, who was reckoned extravagant in her expenses, twelve dollars a month, he himself earning only eight and a half. He mentioned his distress to a friend, who might be suffering from a similar embarrassment; at any rate, he could afford the priest no relief. In the course of the winter, the cardinal lost 300 dollars from a private desk.—The faithful friend, to whom the priest had communicated his wants, related to the cardinal the whole history and conversation, at the same time taking care to express his own suspicions. The good-natured cardinal merely exclaimed “debolezza,” and kept the priest. These facts may serve to contradict an opinion given above; but in the first place, the purity of the clergy in the other countries of Europe should be proved, and then the circumstances, under which the comparison is made, should be taken into consideration.

The following are the orders of ecclesiastical persons. All are called abbots, who have so far entered into orders, as to receive the tonsure. Generals of all orders of monks are also called abbots. The first mentioned abbot makes a vow

only of celibacy; but he cannot say mass. All persons competent to say mass, with a similar vow of celibacy, are called priests. All are brothers who are the laics of convents, and all fathers who are priests with an oath before God of celibacy, but not properly of a monastic order, such as the Jesuits, &c.* Monks and nuns are those who belong to a monastic order, such as the Benedictines, the Dominicans, &c. There are sixteen festivals appointed in the Catholic churches besides the Sundays; but comparing the number of Sundays to the whole number of days in the year, it is evident that about one-seventh of these festivals will fall on the Sunday, so that about thirteen days must be added annually to the fifty-two Sundays, when it is required to hear mass and forbidden to work, making the year less valuable by one twenty-eighth part, than in those countries where no day but Sunday is religiously observed.

The archbishop of Pisa, who owns a great extent of forest in the neighbourhood of Lucca, excommunicates all peasants who steal from it. The peasants confess all their evil deeds to the priests, who report to the bishop. It is doubtful if the

* See Chapter on Convents.

excommunications of the bishop have more effect over the peasants of those regions, than the excommunications of Prior Aylmer had over the outlaws of Norwood forest.

All good catholics at Rome are required to confess themselves, and partake of the sacrament every year before Easter. In order to ascertain the fidelity with which this duty is accomplished, a priest goes to each person of the lower class in the parish, in order to receive a certificate, which is given at the confessional at the time of confession. The names and description of all persons, who are not furnished with this certificate, are pasted up on the door of St. *Bartholomew under sentence of excommunication till the sacrament shall have been partaken of. With the exception of man and wife, and near relations, the interdiction is all contained in the following scholastic verse, "os, orare, vale, communicio, mensa negatur." Modern excommunication is not banishment from country like the *aquae et ignis interdictio*; but is a prohibition to all to hold intercourse with the excommunicated; so that if such a person enters a house, the inhabitants leave it; if a shop, the shop-

* This church is in an island known for having been the fabled spot where Æsculapius landed in the form of a serpent.

man refuses to serve him, &c.; and at last he is denied Christian burial. Those, who have connexion with a person under these circumstances, are struck with what is called the "minor excommunication." There is still superstition enough among the lower orders to make this act an inconvenient and oppressive one; and it is still told with horror, that a princess of the della Croce family fell dead upon the floor, in the act of calling for a glass of water with the "excommunicated."

This matter of superstition, however, seems to depend in some degree upon the force and disposition of the government. When Murat was king of Naples, a juggler showed upon a public stage, in the capital of that kingdom, a fluid, which he called the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius. The populace saw the miracle in perfect good humour; but at the present day it would not delay long to try a similar experiment upon the heart's-blood of the juggler himself. After all, if we except a few frightful figures, painted red and black on large white walls in the southern parts of this country, and representing unhappy souls burning in Purgatory, there is nothing in all Italy, on the score of superstition, so revolting and so oppressive to the spirits, as the images and representations of our Saviour and other Christian emblems, exposed on

the highways, and on the outside of churches, in the country about Aix-la-Chapelle, and in the Catholic cantons of Switzerland. A better taste for the arts, or higher civilization, has saved the Italian roads and churches from these disgraceful and disgusting objects.

The young Saxon princess, Maria Anna Caroline, who was married in October, 1817, to Leopold, John, Joseph, Francis, Ferdinand, Charles, hereditary Prince of Tuscany, complained loudly of the small portion of bread and chocolate given her for breakfast on Friday. The children had been bred up good catholics in their father's court at Dresden; but they had never been accustomed to yield such nice obedience to the mint, anise and cummin of the law. The church, however, holds forth a remedy for all those whose tastes or stomachs require a different or more copious nourishment. It is not difficult to obtain from an officer of the Papal palace, or from the bishop of the diocese, a permission to eat food forbidden in days of fasting. It is only necessary, that the application should be accompanied with the certificate of a physician, setting forth that the health of the petitioner requires such an indulgence. The following is the translation of an application made by an acquaintance at Rome, whose ruddy complexion, and

round solid cheeks, had long borne the best testimony to the wholesome diet of the church.

"O. Q. 30 years of age, has been subject for many years to unknown obstructions, and to hidden pains, as the annexed certificate of the physician manifests; he can no longer make use of the food, required by the regulations of the holy church on days of fasting, without danger to his health. He, therefore, prays that for the quiet of his conscience, and the benefit of his body, he may be permitted to use, on the above named days, food forbidden, &c."

This is the answer in the original. *Sacra Penitentia tibi dilecto in Christo proprio oratori facultatem concedit, ipsum oratorem, quatenus ad suam tuendam salutem hujusmodi indulto indigeat, durante gravi propriae infirmæ valetudinis causa, posse de tuo ac medici physici consilio vesci diebus ab ecclesia catholica vetitis, etiam in quadragesima, salubribus cibis, prout ejus animæ salutis corporisque valetudini expedire in domino virum fuerit, auctoritate apostolica declarandi,—adjecta tamen conditione, pro diebus jejunio consecratis, de unica comestione in die ac de non permiscendis licitis ac interdictis epulis juxta apostolicas literis felicis recordationis. Ben. P. xiv. hac super re reditas, Pro foro conscientiae datum Roma die 16 Maji 1818.*

All catholic nations had formerly churches and houses in Rome for the worship and reception of the poor pilgrims of the nation. There they were lodged and fed for a certain number of days, and at their departure received a small viaticum. No pilgrims now come, and as several nations still hold property of this distribution, the proceeds are given in dowries to young girls, or to the poor of the nation. The church of Flanders distributed six hundred dollars in this manner the last year. It was a great loss of money and time to go on pilgrimages, particularly those long pilgrimages to the Holy Land. It converted a large proportion of the population, most endowed with robust bodies and enterprising minds, into beggars, as the superstition of those ages never denied charity to the palm branch and cockle shell. The celebrated caravans to Mecca and Medina have also become less numerous, less frequent, and depart at more irregular periods. The Turkish government finds the expense of providing guards and conductors too great; and it would do well to calculate, at the same time, the loss of labour and the contracting of idle and bad habits by many of its subjects.

Twenty years ago a poor mechanic of Antwerp made a vow to go to Rome. He walked there in

twenty-six days, a distance at least of one thousand three hundred miles, kissed the iron foot of St. Peter, knelt at his shrine before which eighty large lamps burn day and night, crept up the "holy stair-case," received the benediction of the Holy Father as he passed one day in his carriage, and went home loaded with bones of saints and relics of the Madonna, happy and saved.

CHAPTER VIII.

MAKING OF SAINTS.

Prices of a canonization—degrees through which a Saint is obliged to pass.—Body of St. Borromeo in cathedral at Milan—history of Father Posadas, "beatified" in 1817.—Singular actions and miracles attributed to him—great affection for his mother—how proofs are received—advocate of the devil.—Two miracles proved, one of the woman Maria Gonzalez, and the other of the boy Antonio Lopez.

COUNT Borromeo said to his family, assembled after the canonization of St. *Charles Borromeo, be good, my children, but be not saints. Another canonization will ruin my family. It cost the Marescotti family eighty-four thousand dollars to canonize Saint Hyacintha in 1806. Five Saints were made altogether in 1805, and a sixth, Joseph Benedict Labre, is now under discussion. The expenses are, pay-

* The body of that Saint now lies in a crystal coffin, fastened together with silver cramps, in the cathedral of Milan. A gold crown is suspended over the skull, which is now black, and the bones of the body are wrapped up in cloth of gold. There are two silver gilt angels represented as guarding it; eight of the chief virtues of the Saint are represented by as many large silver statues, and the remarkable acts of his life are expressed in silver relief. This mine of silver does not excite so much astonishment, as the fact, that the French did not carry it off.

ing for masses to be said, for documents proving the miraculous acts attributed to the Saint, for the persons employed in the trial, which often lasts a year, and lastly for decorating St. Peter's. There are three degrees through which a Saint is obliged to pass. He is first venerable, and as such his portrait can be sold—secondly, he is "beatus," and as such he can be invoked, but not worshipped, and lastly, he is canonized; when public worship can be offered to him, relicks placed upon his altar, and his own sold, and have attributed to them the power of performing miracles. In general, Saints only are worshipped. It is true, the Pope can communicate to a particular church, convent, or class of individuals the privilege of worshipping a "beatus" without such worship being accounted superstitious. In order to illustrate the foregoing remarks, and to present an outline of this extraordinary ceremony, I shall give a short account of the beatification on the 6th of September 1817, of Francis di Posadas, of the order of St. Dominic in Andalusia in Spain. He was born on the 25th of November 1644, the son of a poor woman, who sold eggs and chesnuts in the streets. This woman, a few days before the birth of Francis, entered a chapel of the Virgin at Cordova, and kneeling before the altar, said, "Blessed Mother and my lady,

may it please thee that the fruit of my womb be entirely devoted to thy glory and service." It is said that soon after a new star of great brightness appeared over the cottage of the mother, and all the neighbourhood exclaimed, "That child shall surely be a Saint." His early sense of religion was so great, that, while an infant, he tasted of his mother's milk only once on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and that towards the evening. In his youth his life was miraculously preserved from pestilence, from drowning in a river, from falling down a precipice, and his eyes received no injury from a sky-rocket that fell and burst upon his face. When he was nine years old, he raised a school-fellow, Andrea Moreno, from the dead. He was once tempted by a demon in the form of a great cat, and at another time in that of an Ethiopian, who attempted to tear off his rosary. When his mother became old, she used to say to all who came to see her, "my son is a saint, he washes and kisses my feet, makes my bed, obeys me promptly in all things, and provides for me with a kind and healing spirit." And in the course of the son's life, when worldly honours were offered to him, he used to say, "I thank God for this honour, who thus rewards me for the care I took of my mother." In 1663 he was received into the convent of Scala

Caeli. He caused an earthquake to cease at Cordova and he turned many sinners, robbers, and wicked men, and women, one of whom fell dead at his feet, to repentance. He was often provoked by the devil under different forms, saw many divine visions, and heard many voices from heaven. He had especially a remarkable grace in casting out devils. He died in September 1713, and was buried with great pomp at the expense of the city of Cordova. At the moment of his death, many luminous and remarkable appearances were observed in the heavens by the inhabitants of that city, and by travellers approaching it. On the morrow a large star was seen moving near the sun. The Countess of Casaalegra was cured of a Tertian fever by touching a drop of the saint's blood; others were made to walk, and cured of inveterate complaints. The miracles, performed at his tomb, are numerous. Seven chapters are employed in proving the heroic faith, hope, charity, prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance of Father Posadas; the possession of these virtues being necessary to a beatification. In October 1718, the bishop of Cordova began to collect and prepare the documents necessary to commence a suit, in order to obtain his beatification; and by decrees issued from Rome in 1733, 36, and

40, it was declared, that no hindrance existed as to the prosecution of the suit. In 1756 the validity of the commission was approved. Every necessary preparation being made for the discussion of the virtues of this servant of God, the ante-preparatory religious ceremony was celebrated in March 1773, the preparatory one in April 1794, and the general ceremony in July 1804; and in August of the same year the present Pope declared in a solemn decree, that sufficient proof had been brought of the virtues of the above named holy person. The discussion of miracles was held with the utmost severity and impartiality in the different congregations, from 1807 to 1809. This discussion is conducted before a large number of persons of great purity and dignity of character, according to the same forms and principles that would be used in the examination of a common and natural event. A person, called the advocate of the Devil, is commissioned by the congregation, to undertake the refutation of the miracles; an advocate, who rarely succeeds in his calling; for owing to the great delays and expenses attending this trial, it is seldom begun, unless undoubted proofs have been obtained of the sanctity of the candidate. At last the two following miracles were approved by decree of May 1817. Maria Gonsalez of the city of Cordova, was

afflicted for three years by a terrible cancer in the left breast. The remedies of the physician, Don Andrea, had had no success, and the patient becoming more infected by the disease every day, her life was at last looked upon as being near its close. This woman, visiting by accident the tomb of the Father Posadas, accompanied by her physician, picked up several small pieces of the covering of the coffin. These she gave to her brother Bartholomew Gonzalez, who, together with the physician, begged her to apply them to the wound in her breast. But the sister resisted the entreaties of these persons, observing that she could invoke no saint, who was not upon the altar, and although Posadas might have been a holy and just man, still he had never been canonized. She continued for some time steadfast in this opinion, but one night on going to bed, she observed the relicks lying upon a table, and by a divine impulse she was moved to apply them to her breast; making a vow at the same time, that if on the morrow she found herself benefited by the application, she would proclaim Posadas to be a saint, and would offer him her prayers every day. That night she passed tranquilly, and in a sweet sleep; a comfort she had not enjoyed for many years. The next morning she awoke in perfect health; her breast being entirely cured, and having pain neither of body or mind.

The second miracle happened in the person of Antonio Lopez, a child of three years of age, whose nose was so much diseased by a fistula, in consequence of the small pox, that the physician, Don Andrea, was about to perform a terrible operation upon its face. But the father having applied an image of Posadas to the part affected, the child immediately fell into a deep sleep, and in six hours awoke with a sound and perfect nose. The truth of these miracles being confirmed by an unwearied and searching examination, such as the importance of the case required, Pius VII. declared with every solemnity, that "*procedi posse ad beatificationem.*" It may be observed, that a person is seldom canonized under an interval of 100 years, and at an expense of 80 or 100,000 dollars. More will be said upon this subject in the chapter on miracles.

CHAPTER IX.

MIRACLES IN ITALY.

Extraordinary action imputed to a doll in the church of Ara Caeli—clothes of Pope held in reverence, and bits of them put into soups, &c.—extraordinary scene of a lame beggar—miracles of 1796—images and pictures of virgins open their eyes—persons examined judiciously upon the subject—wonderful excitement at Rome, and state of the populace—nature of the proofs in support of these miracles—lead to two important conclusions.

IN the first place, I shall mention a few circumstances that have recently happened in Rome, and I shall then give an account of the extraordinary event that took place in the year 1796. In the church of the Ara Caeli there is always kept a doll, about twelve inches high, called the infant Jesus, and believed to be a miraculous image, having the power of performing miracles. In 1809, a man was hired for a large sum of money to substitute another doll exactly resembling this one, and to carry off the miraculous image to a convent in Rome. The same night the people in the neighbourhood of the church heard a great noise, as of one beating upon a door. The Franciscan monks of the convent, of which Ara

Caeli is the church, and many lay persons assembling upon the spot where the noise proceeded, saw the holy doll striking and kicking with the utmost violence against the door. The monks, terrified and amazed, opened the door of the church, whereupon the doll proceeded with perfect steadiness to its former place near the principal altar, and miraculously placed itself in its cradle. I asked a monk who related this story to me, why the doll, who had the supernatural power of coming from a distant convent, and of beating in the night upon the door of the church, “why it did not go at once through the door without causing an alarm in the whole neighbourhood, and calling together forty or fifty persons.” The monk said, “that it was necessary to call together these persons in order to testify to the miracle.”

When the Pope was persecuted and held in bondage by the French, bits of his clothes, and particularly his shirt, were sent to Rome and sold as relics. Threads of them were even put into soups and given to sick persons. The pope being then in a state of persecution, and undergoing a slow martyrdom, whatever belonged to him was looked upon as possessing miraculous powers.

In January, 1815, the body of a monk, who was highly respected for sanctity, was exposed in the

church of St. Bartholomew upon the island. The people came in vast crowds to the spot, expecting to see miracles performed;—the lame, blind, old and diseased were brought and laid down at the door, waiting for an opportunity when they could be carried in and touch the dead body. An aged beggar, in particular, who had been lame in both his legs from his infancy, and who had sat for many years at the bottom of the bridge leading to the island, shaking a small brass box, and beseeching charity for the love of God and the Blessed Virgin, and who was well known in the whole neighbourhood for a sickly, wretched and woe-begone appearance; this unhappy being was taken up by a large number of the zealous, carried forcibly through the crowd, and laid upon the body of the monk. He was then carried back to the street, held upon his feet, his crutches taken away, and at the same time hundreds of persons cried out, “believe and walk.” The poor man fell instantly upon the pavement with a grievous force. Raising himself upon his hands, and looking about with a mournful look, he said with a piteous air, “I expected it would come to this.” The people again cried out, “Thou hadst no faith, and therefore thou couldst not be healed.” The streets leading to this church, were filled with people in the

highest state of excitement, all shouting “*miracolo*,” and ready to crucify any unhappy being who should have the folly to scoff or doubt. Finally, the Pope himself sent an order, accompanied by an armed force, for the removal of the body.

I have now come to one of the most remarkable occurrences of the present day. I refer to the prodigies observed in the year 1796, in many sacred images, particularly of the “blessed Mary” in Rome and other parts of the pontifical States. The account is extracted from a great variety of authentic memoirs, examinations, trials and histories compiled by * D. G. Marchetti. These miracles happened from the 9th of July, 1796, to the 15th of January, 1797. The representations of the virgin referred to, are in general coarse paintings, about two and an half or three feet high and two broad, either suspended over an altar, or set into the corner of the wall of the house, covered with a glass, and a lamp is always kept burning near them. Most of the public corners at Rome have such pictures let into the wall. The walls are of stone, and it is perfectly manifest that no deception could be practised by persons behind the pictures.

* De' Prodigj avvenuti in molte sagre immagini specialmente de Maria santissima, &c. Roma. 1797.

Various circumstances, not at all important to this detail, exist to prove that such deception was impracticable. This book contains the account of prodigies observed in twenty-six pictures or images, and of many others concerning which all the necessary proofs and documents have not been collected. These accounts are all nearly alike. I shall, therefore, only mention the most important facts relating to the first prodigy recorded in the book; this happened to an image of the most holy Mary, "mother of pity," and called dell' Archetto.* It is painted with oil, and represents only one half of the bust; both the eyes are open, of which the pupil and white can be most distinctly seen. The picture is protected by a glass and it is raised ten feet from the ground. The first prodigy was observed on the 9th of July, 1796. The day was mild and clear. Early in the morning it was remarked that the eyes began to move, and the eyelids occasionally shut themselves entirely. Here began the examination not only of this, but of all the other images. Persons brought ladders, mounted to within a few inches of the eyes, and stood looking at

* Observations were made upon these miracles in the London Chronicle for January, 1797, by the Rev. Joseph Berrington. I have not, however, been able to see that publication.

them for many minutes. The Cardinal Braschi carried a ladder upon the top of his carriage and went to every image in the city, each one only served to make him believe more in the miracle. I was well acquainted with Monseignor B—, who had examined several in the same manner. He was a man of sixty, intelligent, of a sound judgment, well instructed, not inclined to superstition, and as ready to scoff at incredulous stories as other people. He said to me repeatedly, that he as much saw the eyes move as he saw the picture against the wall. Some brought glasses to magnify the object, others walked away a few hours, and then returned to see if the same effect would be produced, and others held their hands over their eyes for a few moments for a similar purpose.

Persons were seized with cold sweats and fainted, others were seized with convulsions, and some went rushing through the streets and shouting like the possessed, 'miracolo.' The crowds near the images were exclaiming at every moment, "see, the blessed saint raises her eyelids—she turns the pupils, now she raises them and now she depresses them." Crowds of persons watched night and day before the images, chaunting different hymns of the Catholic service. It was a scene of crossing and of reciting

Pater Nosters and Ave Maria's. When the miracle was particularly visible, then the whole multitude fell upon their knees in the most devout manner, some repeating short prayers with great fervour, and others shouting in a frantic, half-distracted voice, "blessed be the most Holy Virgin." The litanies were chaunted, and at the verse "Santa Maria, ora pro nobis" it was observed in particular that the virgin opened her eyes. The streets were thronged for several weeks both night and day with people going in long processions, headed by priests, from one image to another, and reciting offices in praise of the virgin. "All hail Mary and thy son Jesus, and Him who created them." These processions were usually closed by persons armed with instruments of penance, beating their naked bodies. Before the images ancient enmities were forgiven, men deposited their swords and daggers in sign of peace—robbers restored stolen goods—creditors released their debtors—a profane song or a blasphemous word was no where heard, and neither licentiousness, quarrels, or drunkenness were seen. This short and simple canticle, a thousand times repeated, was heard at every corner: "Salve Regina; illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte."

The printed accounts are signed by the autograph of Cardinal Somaglia. Then follows a list of one

hundred and seventy-four persons, all above the age of twenty, of all ranks and descriptions—Cardinals, marquisses, priests, officers, monks, cobblers, married and unmarried, native and foreign, all of whom solemnly deposed upon oath, before a special tribunal, appointed for the purpose, that they respectively witnessed the prodigies above recorded; many of the witnesses saw the same prodigies at all the images, and many at various repetitions and intervals. These persons were examined as if they had been giving testimony, in a court of justice, to a natural fact. There is also a list of seven hundred and eighty-seven persons, who made a simple declaration; many, however, upon oath, of having witnessed the above-named prodigies. A large proportion of both lists consists of persons the most eminent in society for rank, dignity, learning and integrity. The seven hundred and eighty-seven were not formally examined, it being thought that sufficient testimony had been procured, and it being also thought advisable to make public the result of the examination with all possible speed. Similar prodigies were observed at Venize and all towns in the pontifical States, particularly at Ancona.

I have seen in an anonymous pamphlet published at Milan, that the French at Venize decreed at this time, that the virgins should open their

eyes no more, and that they instantly obeyed. I do not wish to call in question the efficacy of French decrees, aided in the way in which they usually were, but it is difficult to reconcile the date of the decree above quoted, with the time of the miracles imputed to the Virgin. The treaty of Leoben was not signed till the 20th of April, 1797; war was not declared against the republic of Venice till the 3d of May, by a Manifest dated at Palma Nuova—the French general Baraguay d'Hilliers, leading the van of the French troops, did not reach Venice till the 15th of the same month, and Venice was formally ceded to France only on the 17th Oct. 1797 by treaty of Campo Formio. And all these prodigies had ceased of their own accord before the month of February, 1797.

It is unnecessary, and indeed it would be altogether incompatible with the object of this work, to enter into an examination of this subject. It is sufficient to say that it is the evident belief of Farmer* that miracles may be wrought for other purposes than those recorded in the Old and New Testaments, and that those miracles may be wrought in all ages to aid in particular dispensations of providence. That it cannot be said these miracles had no special object, for the catholics may with great justice say, that they fore-

* A Dissertation on Miracles, by Hugh Farmer. London, 1771.—Vid. particularly Chap. V.

warned them of the terrible evils about to befall the church, and which, in reality, soon after had their beginning. It is true such miracles may be said to confirm and propagate established error, and that miracles wrought under such circumstances are always liable to suspicion. But even upon this point a learned and pious man has said, "supposing that the miracles pretended in favour of paganism were all real miracles, yet as they lead men to a corrupt religion and idolatrous worship, no reverence, no regard is to be paid to them." (Farmer, page 122.) Secondly, these miracles are exposed to none of the objections set up in the three tests required by Douglas, at page 52; and many of the miracles which he examines, such as those of Ignatius de Loyola, and some of those of the Abbe de Paris, are supported by proofs utterly different from the proofs in favour of the miracles of 1796. The last named miracles happened in the year 1730 at the tomb of that ecclesiastic; a furious Jansenist, buried in the church of St. Menard at Paris. These miracles took place at the time of the violent dispute between the Jesuits and Jansenists, but they resemble those of '96 only from the manner in which some of them were immediately proved before judicial tribunals at Paris. But it is sufficient for our present purpose to put down the two following state-

ments as being of great importance to the doctrine of miracles and evidence.

1. The Romish Church continues in the practice of canonizing men. These canonizations can be effected only by the proofs of miracle wrought.

2. The miracles of 1796 were sworn or voluntarily declared to have taken place, by nearly one thousand persons, for the most part of known respectability, integrity, good judgment, and of mature age. If it had been necessary, half a million of persons could have been found to depose to the same facts.

CHAPTER X.

POPULATION OF THE CITY OF ROME.

Amount of population in Pontifical States and in the city of Rome. Condition of that population for a century. Diminished till 1814—increased till present time—exact state of the population of the city of Rome, the 31st December 1817—early marriages.

THE population of the territory assigned to the Pope, by the 103d article of the Congress of Vienna, amounted according to official returns, on the 26th of November 1817, to 2,201,619; and the population of the city of Rome according to subsequent returns, on the 2d January 1818, to 131,356. Rome is one of the most remarkable cities in Europe as to the nature of its population; I shall therefore give a short statement of the progress and present condition of that population, referring, however, to the chapter on the population of the city of Naples, for more exact details as to that subject in general, as I succeeded in obtaining more perfect materials for comparison in relation to the last named city. There was no year in the last century, when the population of this city was so

small as the present one; the year 1710 the least favourable one, showing a result of* 132,070. The population increased to 166,948, experiencing, however, great vicissitudes, and demonstrating that the population of this city was governed by causes totally different from those which prevail in other towns; for example, in one year, 1775 there was an increase of 4200, and in six years after a diminution of about 3000. The Pope was removed by the French to Sienna on the 20th of February 1798. The population, however, did not begin to diminish in a regular series till 1801, when it amounted to 146,384, and in 1813 it had fallen to 117,882. From 1814, the year of the restoration, till 1817, the increase has already been given. Emigrations, caused by the military occupation of the French, and conscriptions consequent on the last occupation of 1808, sufficiently explain the diminution of the population, affected only by the state of the church, and not by the state of commerce and manufactures like other cities. There is no probability that the state of the church will ever be as flourishing as it was even in the middle of the last century, and it is not probable

* Vid. the Cracas, an almanack published first in 1716, but containing the annual returns of the population from 1702. It is so called from the name of the first author.

that any government, whether Austrian or Neapolitan, will ever make Rome either commercial or manufacturing. The following is an exact statement of the population on the 31st of December 1817.

Parochial Churches, - -	81	Bishops, - - - -	31
Fires or families, - -	31702	Priests, - - - -	1434
Marriages, - - - -	1917	Monks, - - - -	144
BORN. { Males, 1977 }	3836	Nuns, - - - -	1303
{ Females, 1919 }		Students, - - - -	433
DIED. { Males, 3997 }	6437	In Hospitals, - - -	2992
{ Females, 2440 }		In Prisons, - - -	986
		Hereticks, Turks, and other infidels not in cluding Jews, - - -	108
Received at Sacrament, 95662		Males of all ages, -	69544
Not received, - - - 36241		Females " " -	61812
			131,256

Before the middle of the last century the number of men on an average exceeded annually that of women by one quarter, but the excess has much diminished of late years owing to the decrease of monastic habits. The effect of such an excess as to illegitimate love in the community, is stated with great inaccuracy by Mr. Bonstetten—(page 306.) It was stated by all the intelligent Italians whom I had an opportunity of consulting, that the lower classes have a great disposition to early marriages; that is from 20 to 24 for the men and from 16 to 20 for the women. In countries where life is short, men are sooner called upon to supply the deficiencies of the population.

CHAPTER XI.

HOSPITALS IN ROME AND FLORENCE.

Number in Roman hospitals—cured—died.—Illegitimate and other children received at the wheel—Bad tendency of the wheel—conservatory favourite charity.—More money paid in Italy for poor than in any other country.—Pilgrimage to Tourvières—beggars at St. Peters—most beggars blind.—Pope washing feet, &c.—no noblemen, now in Italy who beg.—Great proportion of individuals in hospitals in Rome—financial state of hospitals in Florence—and charitable establishments—great number of illegitimate children—proportion to women capable of bearing children and to births—illegitimate births in France.—Pia Casa of Florence—diet, &c.

INCLUDING those, who remained from 1816, there existed in all the hospitals of Rome, during the year 1817, thirty-four thousand three hundred and thirty-six persons, of these, thirty thousand eighty-four were cured and left the hospitals, and three thousand one hundred seventy-four died, being nearly one death in every ten individuals.

In the great hospital of Spirito Santo there were exposed during 1817, at the wheel

Male children.	Female	Total.
576	497	1013
at board in the country		1735
		2748

Remaining not weaned 389

Restored to parents.

Male.	Female	Total.
60	70	130

died in the hospital 419
 ——— at board 550 } being nearly one in every three.
 969

In 1812 there died in Spirito Santo, one thousand one hundred and thirty-five persons of the following professions.

Ecclesiastics	- - - - -	9
Soldiers	- - - - -	8
Professors of the Liberal Arts		11
Artizans	- - - - -	467
Countrymen	- - - - -	543
Servants	- - - - -	34
Beggars	- - - - -	3
Unknown	- - - - -	57

The children in this hospital are illegitimate, or destitute ones. They are put in the night upon a hollow wheel, near which is hung a bell, and whenever this bell is rung, an attendant comes, turns the wheel and receives the child. They are maintained till twelve years of age; a letter is often placed with the child, so that it may be recognized at a future time. This institution would afford much less encouragement to vice, if children were only received

in broad day light, and after a proper examination of the situation of the parents.

Another favourite and general charity of the Romans, is a Conservatory, where young girls are received and supported, either till they are married, or till they find a suitable and permanent employment. At their marriage they are allowed seventy-five dollars for a dowry, but at their entrance into the conservatory, they are required to deposit fifty dollars, to bring bed and bedding and two pillows, with four changes of clothes and several small kitchen utensils. In general, nunneries only give shelter to the higher classes, but monasteries and the church consumed a large proportion of the male population indifferently of all orders. More women were, therefore, left in the lower classes without a possibility of finding husbands or support, and, I believe, it will be found in consequence, that Italy has been remarkable for establishments appointed to shelter and maintain young women. It has also been equally remarkable for charitable establishments of all descriptions, and I have little doubt, that before the French Revolution, more money was expended upon the poor in Italy, than has been done in any transalpine country, at or since that time, in the proportion of wealth and population, together with different man-

ner of living of the people always remembered. Even to this day, the feeling of compassion is no where so strong. And why should it not be? Men are encouraged both to beg and to give by the prospect of heaven. How many convents formerly existed that had the privilege of begging, and indeed, no other means of support? How many of all those restored, have received the same privilege? What is the interpretation given to the precepts of the bible concerning alms giving? From the Pope you may buy a direct absolution, from the poor an indirect one. An Italian gives money for the sake of the prayers of the person, and not for the sake of clothing and feeding him.

Every month of September the superstitious, from many miles distance, make a pilgrimage to the little chapel of our Lady on the top of a steep hill, called Tourvières, behind Lyons. We counted a hundred and seventy-seven beggars in the distance of an eighth of a mile, assembled from the whole town to receive alms; for all, who can afford it, make a vow to give a small bit of money to every beggar, who shall be found on the steep path. Many of these persons stopped at the bottom of the hill to get their franc piece changed by the first beggar, into liards and centimes.

Again, at the doors of many convents, soup and bread were daily given to the poor, and the

same act was practised at the doors of many rich families. Such customs are like the largesses and amusements of the Roman emperors in a different form. There are always under the colonnade of St. Peter's twenty or thirty beggars, all sitting on chairs, shaking a little box and demanding charity for the love of God. Blindness, being the most easy to counterfeit, or the most striking to the beholder, is the general expedient of beggars in all countries. At London, Paris, Rome, Joannina, Athens, and Constantinople two thirds of the beggars are blind. One cannot go to church in Rome without being assaulted by three or four old women holding little distaffs with flax upon them, and saying with the utmost eagerness to your coachman, "*aspette un poco.*" Above all, his Holiness washes in gold basins the feet of twelve beggars every year at St. Peter's. "It is poverty, and not the poor which such charity supports." Finally, travellers relate, that noblemen, bearing the title of excellency, and gentlemen well dressed, stopped them in the street and solicited the charity of a paul. During the time I was in Italy, I happened to meet with no such gentleman or noblemen.

The number of individuals in hospitals in Rome, is at least one third beyond the proportion of other cities. This may be attributed to the bad manage-

ment of those hospitals, to the poverty of the people, but directly to the sudden fevers, which attack the poor during the hot months. In the months of August and September there were one thousand one hundred persons daily in Santo Spirito alone, all ill with the fever and ague. From the manner also in which persons are received, I am inclined to think that many are admitted, who have little claim on the score of sickness.

In 1816, eight principal hospitals of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, presented an annual deficiency of a hundred and fifty thousand eight hundred and sixty-four dollars, all the charitable establishments having been in great disorder during the French times, who had confiscated various possessions belonging to them. The same year the Grand Duke distributed one million five hundred and thirty thousand dollars, and also the sum of a hundred and thirty thousand dollars, in order to pay their debts and secure to them a permanent revenue. Various other dispositions were adopted to the same effect. In the different hospitals there exist 2403 beds to be furnished gratuitously to the poor. The income of all is near 259,088 dollars; but only about half of this sum remains, after paying interest on debts to be devoted to charitable purposes. This sum, however, is reckoned sufficient to maintain

1400 beds; the remaining 1008 are paid for from the private treasury of the Grand Duke.

The Trovatelli in all Tuscany contained, in 1807, 5740 foundlings; in 1818, the number had increased to 8011; and so disastrous and criminal was the management, that on an average, sixty-three foundlings died in every 100. The population of Tuscany, in 1818, was 1,108,000; and, according to the estimates of human life, one-seventh part, male and female, of that population, was between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five years; one half of this seventh (though in reality there would be a fraction more) being women, would make 78,340. There is good reason to suppose, that at least half these children are either illegitimate, or the fruit of illicit love, this gives 4005 children, divided upon 78,340 women leaves a fraction less than one child for every nineteen women in the community, of all classes and descriptions, capable of bearing children; it being fairly presumed, that the children born as early as fifteen will quite counterbalance those born after thirty-five. Take out from this number of women, nuns, women deformed, or sick from their youth, and others incapable of bearing children, and the proportion will be still more humiliating. In 1808, the whole number of births was 42,448. As 804 foundlings were in the hospi-

tals at the end of that year, and as sixty-three died annually in 100 received, it follows that about 5006 were received that year. Half of this number divided upon the whole number of births, 42,448, gives one illegitimate birth in about seventeen for all Tuscany for the year 1818, without including those not received at the hospitals. And still Tuscany is without doubt the most moral and virtuous part of Italy, a people of the most regular habits, of the greatest comforts and most gentle dispositions and manners. A few years after the revolution in France, the illegitimate births were as one to eleven; before the revolution, they had been only as one to forty-nine.

The Pia Casa, at Florence, is intended to educate to industrious habits, the healthy poor addicted to vice and idleness; to furnish work to poor families, and to assist those individuals who are sick and incapable of procuring a subsistence. They rise at five in the morning four months; at six four other, and at half past six four other. They go every morning to the church; no breakfast; at twelve they dine; for each individual, two ounces of soup, ten of bread, six of flesh, and one gill of wine. Their labours finish at half an hour before sunset. Their supper is for each individual ten ounces of bread, eight of vegetables, and one gill of wine; subject, however, to all the fasts of the Romish church.

CHAPTER XII.

CONVENTS IN ITALY.

Manner of French suppressing convents in Italy—conditions on which these convents were suppressed—what convents re-established in Italy—an exact list of every convent, with number of monks or nuns—expense of entrance and manner of support in Rome the 15 Jan. 1819—account of the principal monastic orders—expenses of a nobleman's daughter for vestire—a citizen's do.—what monasteries take girls for education—nunneries will always be kept full while present system of education lasts—what orders eat meat—how many are supported—dress—account of the convent "ai Cappucini," copied by Granet in his pictures—cells, dinner, &c. of the monks—what monks must know latin—order of life in a convent—monks of the richer orders have a respectable appearance—no particular vice or self-denial—or appearance of gluttony or debauchery—no gloom or mystery attached to convents—monks very useful in the middle ages—best farmers in Italy—manner of making a nun—white veil—probation—taken by Theresa Gentilucci—dresses, prayers—chaunting—cutting off hair, &c.—black veil taken by Josephine Theresa—pale and delicate appearance—sonnet addressed to Charlotte Bonaparte—visit to the convent of Tor di Speechio—cells of nuns—superior confined to bed for three years, &c.—course of life—nuns simple and good-natured—visit to convent of Vive Sepolte—see no human beings—dialogue with abbess through brass plate—extraordinary institution—inhabitants of convents happy, and have no bad passions, &c.

***B**y an order issued by Gen. Belair, commanding the French troops at Rome, dated the 2 Floreal (22 April) 1793, 112 convents were suppressed; the in-

* Collezione di Carti, &c. tendenti a consolidare la Rigenerata Repubblica Romana. Vol. 4. page 278.

habitants of them being incorporated into other convents, were permitted to remain in monastic orders.* But by decree of 2 of May, 1810, of the Emperor Napoleon, proclaimed at Rome the 28th of May of the same year, all religious corporations were suppressed, reserving for the city of Rome only the following convents, viz.:—St. Dominico and St. Sisto of the order of Dominicans; St. Silvestro in Capite of the Franciscans; Barberine and St. Theresa for the Carmelites, and St. Cecilia in Trastevere for the Benedictine nuns. All monks or nuns attached to schools or hospitals were retained. All monks and nuns past seventy years of age, received permission to remain in the city of Rome; and a place was assigned to them, in which they were allowed to live in common. They will, however, lay aside the monastic habit. All other monks and nuns were ordered forthwith to quit their convents, and to return to the places of their birth. They were permitted to sell all private effects, except manuscripts, pictures, medals, books, or whatever is rare and precious. Every monk and nun, aged sixty complete years, received 120 dollars annually; all below that age, 100 dollars. All lay brothers and sisters, of sixty years, received eighty dollars; and all below that age, sixty dollars annually.

* Battethius della Reggi, &c. publicati della Consulta Straordinaria negli Stati Romani. Vol. 9. page 146. Bell. 93.

These pensions were paid monthly. The 15 of June of the same year, all property, personal and real, belonging to the suppressed corporations, was transferred to the administration of Imperial Domains. In convents, where religious service was performed for a parish, the gold and silver utensils were suffered to remain. In all other convents, all gold and silver was packed up and sealed with the imperial seal. The prefect of the department was ordered to transport to the museum of the capitol all works of art found in these convents. All legitimate debts, due from these corporations, shall be paid from the public treasury. This decree, containing eighty-eight articles, applies particularly to the departments of Rome and Trasimene; but the articles I have extracted, show at the same time the conditions upon which all religious corporations in Italy were finally suppressed.

In the Lombard Venetian kingdom, convents of all orders have been prohibited by the Austrian government. In the other states of Italy, the mendicant orders have been reinstated in the possession of all buildings formerly belonging to them, and in the administration of the royal domains, at the time the ancient governments were restored. In a few other instances, also, orders depending upon fixed rents for their support, have been restored, either by special donations from the governments, or in cases where former possessions were not alienated.

LIST OF ALL MONASTERIES AND NUNNERIES

EXISTING IN ROME 15TH OF JANUARY, 1819, WITH THE NUMBER OF MONKS AND NUNS IN EACH; EXPENSES OF ENTRANCE INTO EACH, AND THE MANNER IN WHICH EACH IS SUPPORTED.

Name of the Convent.	Order.	Number	Expenses for Entrance.	Manner of Support.
Santa Maria del Popolo,	Augustins,	14	\$200	rents and charity.
Jesus and Mary,	Augustins (discalceati)	27	100	small rents, much charity.
St. Charles at Catinari,	Barnabites,	30	120	rents.
Ara Cæli,	Minori Osservanti	100	70	very small rents, great charities.
St. Bartholomew al' Isola,	do.	124	80	as above.
St. Francis a Ripa,	do.	80	80	charity.
Santi Quaranta,	do.	40	80	small personal property.
St. Peter in Montorio,	do.	14	80	small rents and charity.
La Polveriera,	Reformed,	36	90	charity.
St. Esidoro,	Minori Osservanti,	20	70	small rents and charity.
St. Caliste in Trastevere,	St. Calisto,	30	180	abundant rents.
St. Paul fuori le Mura,	do.	112	180	as above.
La Scala,	Carmelites (discalceati)	126	250	rents and profession of Apostheary.
St. Prassade,	Monaci,	12	100	rents and church.
St. Lorenzo in Lucina,	Clerici regolari minori,	22	150	rents.
St. Andrew della Fratte,	Francis di Paola,	14	300	great rents.
St. Francis di Paoli,	Clerici Minori,	10	300	do. do.
Alla trinità dé Monti,	do.	3	300	do. do.

LIST OF MONASTERIES AND NUNNERIES,—(CONTINUED.)

Name of the Convent.	Order.	Number.	Expenses for Entrance.	Manner of Support.
Saviour in Trastevere,	do.	2	300	do. do.
St. Bernard,	do.	14	300	do. do.
Capucins,	Monaci,	80	100	small rents and charity.
The Mission,	St. Francis,	15	80	rents.
Mary di Monticelli,	La Missione,	15	150	rents and church.
St. Augustin,	Preti di congregazione,	40	200	rents.
Minerva,	Augustus,	30	300	rents, large.
La Trinita de Monte,	Dominicans,	11	111	rents.
St. Agnes fuori le Mura,	Ordine de Preti,	3	200	do.
St. Lorenzo,	Monaci,	5	200	do.
Magdalen,	Clerici Regolari Minori,	17	300	charity, obliged to attend the sick, &c.
St. Ignatio Sepulcro,	St. Camillo de Lellis,	52		charity of house.
Al Noviziato,	Jesuits,	70	nothing.	rents.
St. Sebastian fuori le Mura,	Jesuit Novices,	2	300	rents and charity.
Lady of Holy Angels,	Cisterciensi,	17	nothing.	great rents.
Mary in Valicella,	Carthusians,	16	150	labour.
St. Nicolas di Cesarini,	Philippins,	11	80	small rents and charity.
St. Mary in Campitelli,	do.	12	100	do.
Religioni of Visitation,	Clerici regolari della madre di Dio	10		
	St. Francis de Sales,			
	Total,	1236		

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LIST OF MONASTERIES AND NUNNERIES,—(CONTINUED.)

Nunneries.	Order.	Number.	Expenses for Entrance.	Manner of Support.
St. Paul, first Hermit,	Cammeroli di St. Pericolante,	65		supported by government.
Called Le Piane,	Le Piane,	56		dowers and small rents.
La Madonna di Dolori,	Augustiniane oblate,	45	1600	do. do.
St. Egidio,	Terziona (discalceati)	30	1500	do. do.
St. Rufina,	Orsoline Oblate,	27	1300	rents.
Regina Caeli,	St. Teresa Carmelitane,	12	1200	rents and dowers.
St. Jo. Pasquale,	Pia Comunità,	39	500	rents.
St. Cecilia,	Benedictins,	36	1500	rents and charity.
St. Michel a Ripa,	Holy Young Women,	99	and \$7 a month.	small rents and charity.
St. Augustina,	Augustins,	56	Conservatorio 700	rents.
St. Silvester in Capite,	St. Francis,	57	1500	do.
St. Mary Magdalen de Pazzi,	Carmelites,	13	800	rents and charity.
St. Teresa,	Discalceati Carmelites,	17	1500	rents.
St. Peter in Marcellino,	do. do.	15	1500	do.
St. Joseph a Capo le Case,	do. do.	12	1500	do.
Holy Sacrament,	Augustins,	16	1400	charity of Cardinal Ercolani.
Capucines,	St. Francis,	32	300	great charity.
St. Dominic and Sixtus,	St. Dominic,	30	1000	great rents, all nobles.
St. Catherine of Sienna,	Dominicans,	22	1000	rents and charity.
St. Francis,	Franciscans,	50	1400	small rents and charity.
Monastery Paolette,	St. Paul,	24	1200	do. do.
St. Lucia in Sebi,	Augustins,	18	700	do.
St. Philip,	Philippins,	10	1000	very small rents and charity.

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LIST OF MONASTERIES AND NUNNERIES,—(CONTINUED.)

Nunneries.	Order.	Number.	Expenses for Entrance.	Manner of Support.
St. Benedict,	Benedictins,	45	1000	small rents.
Holy Conception,	Vignomesce,	43	120	do.
Infant Jesus,	Augustins,	31	1603	rents.
Holy Ghost,	Holy Ghost,	20	1000	do.
Holy Conception a Monti,	Vive Seppolte,	54	200	great charity, no rents.
Holy Annunciation,	Annunciation,	49	1372	rents.
Mendicante,	Mendicante,	70	Conservatory	50 labour.
St. Ambrozio,	St. Ambrozio,	60	can be married.	do.
St. Clement,	Le Zoccolante,	50	Conserv.	200 charity and labour.
St. Catherine,	Augustins,	30	do.	1200 rents.
Tor di Specchio,	St. Frances Roman,	23	1800	great rents.
St. Ursiline,	Gran Clausura,	22	for education	1600 rents.
Divine Providence,	A Ripetta,	47	Conserv.	200 do.
S. Quatri Coronati,	St. Quatri,	40	1400	do.
At 4 Fountains,	Franciscan,	32	1100	rents paid by France.
do.	St. Paul,	18	1200	small rents, much charity.
St. Urban,	St. Urban,	30	1000	labour.
Total nuns,		1463		
Total monks,		1236	Total Religions at Rome, 2699.	

The facts in the above list were obtained by enquiries at the door of each Convent. I shall add a few notices, taken from Bonanni degli ordini Religiosi (4th ed. Roma. 1738, 4 vols. in 4to.) in order to explain, in some degree, the object and meaning of these different orders.

Augustins. So called from St. Augustin, founded in 388, wear black robes, girded with leather thongs.

(*) *Barnabiti.* About 1530, by Antonio Maria Zaccaria, a noble of Verona. Fast every Wednesday. Dress is black. This convent was formerly very rich.

(*) *Minori.* Founded at Naples in 1589. Dress in black cloth, like priests.

(†) *Carmelites.* Pretend to be derived from Mount Carmel, in the earliest ages. Robe is tan colored, with a large white cape. There are four degrees of this order.

(†) *Capucins.* Founded by St. Francis, in 1525. So called from the cap on their heads, called in Italian, "Cappuccio." Wear sandals without stockings, nourish the beard, and wear robes of undyed wool. Eight degrees of Capucin and Franciscan monks, all mendicant, and mostly governed by the same rules. *Reformati* are Franciscans of a more austere life, re-

formed in France in 1593 by Romito of Paris. Gird the nselves with ropes made with horse-hair. They are called indiscriminately Capucin or Franciscan.

(*) *Missione*. Founded by Vincent de Paoli in 1625, go about instructing in religious exercises. Dress like Priests.

(*) *Order of Preachers*. Founded by St. Dominic, of the noble Spanish family of Gusman, in 1216. Convert hereticks. Dress in white robes.

Dominicans. The same.

Ursuline Nuns are of six degrees. All took their origin from the "venerable" Franciulla Angela, and were established in 1544. They teach schools without pay. The Dutchess of Modena, mother of a Queen of England, instituted a splendid nunnery under this name in Rome, in 1689. Dress all in black.

Carmelites. Of four degrees. Founded by St. Helena, empress, upon Mount Carmel, in 326. Dress in tan-colored robes, with long white mantle and black veil.

Benedictine nuns. Founded by the sister of St. Benedict.

Franciscan nuns. Founded by St. Francis d'Assisi in 1212. Wear no under clothes, but only a coarse woollen garment of "native" colour, sleep on straw, and fast often.

Dominican nuns. Founded in 1217 by St. Dominic. White robes, with black veil and leather girdle.

Philippin nuns. So called from living under the care of St. Philip of Neri. Perform different works of women. White veil covering a black one, white tunick down to the knees, and black petticoat.

Nuns of the Conception. Founded in 1484. Two degrees of this order.

Cistercienses. So called from the celebrated abbey Cistercio (Citeau, French) in Burgundy, founded in 1098. Wear both black and white.

The orders marked thus (*) are called, in the language of the church, *clerici regulares*, and those marked (†) are called *Fratres*. A cistercian monk is called *monachus*. Many of the names in the above list, having no corresponding term in English, I have used that by which they are generally known in Italy. As late as January, 1819, thirty-seven convents, including the jesuist's college at Ferrara, had been established in all the pontifical states. They are less numerous in proportion to the population, in the other states of Italy, not exceeding one convent, of a mendicant order, to each town of eight thousand inhabitants. The Dominican, Agostiniani, Calzi, Scalzi, Carmelitani, Tereziani, Antoniani, Teatini, Benedittini, Croceferi, Scolopi, and Camaldolesi, have been re-established in the

kingdom of Naples, but in what numbers I was not able to ascertain.

The immediate expenses, called in Italian, "vestire," for entering a convent, are fees to the convent, dress and dinners given on the days of taking the white and black veil to all the convent, besides the other expences of those days. The vestire of a young lady of noble family costs between three thousand and three thousand five hundred dollars, and of a citizen's daughter between five and six hundred. The first-named person has usually fifty or sixty dollars of annual rent assigned to her by the family for private expences. In the nunneries of St. Cecelia, St. Augustine and St. Silvester in Capite, the nuns, as well as scholars are noble. The nunneries of Mary Magdalena dé Pazzi, St. Joseph a capo le case, St. Dominic and St. Sixtus, St. Catherine of Sienna, the Monastery Paolette, the Infant Jesus, Mendicante, St. Ambrose, St. Catherine fuori le Mura, Tor di Specchio and St. Urban, receive girls for education. The price is from seven to nine dollars a month. They dine at the same hour with the nuns, but at a different table. The common parts of education they are taught by the nuns, they are also taught to embroider, sing, play, and often to dance, by women, who come for that purpose to the nunnery; these, however, are

separate expences. There is thus in each nunnery a constant supply to recruit and increase its population, for every girl of the higher orders of life, not married, to a certainty will take the veil, and not more than one in three will be thus rescued, for it is uncommonly rare, that more than the eldest son of families of suitable rank and fortune can afford to be married. A maiden lady of the great Doria family, now about forty-five years old, and still living in the world, was mentioned at Rome as a phenomenon.

The French, by suppressing convents, forced the Italian nobility to educate their children at home: this, in time, would have created such habits of society between the married and unmarried as now prevail, to a considerable degree in France, and more especially in England. But the Italians are indolent, poor, and ignorant, and the customs of society deny to women an existence in the world, except under the shelter of marriage. It costs less money and trouble to send daughters to convents, where they live in great sloth and perfect obscurity, till proposals are made to marry them. If the pontifical states should fall into the possession of the Austrians, who have shewn themselves, on numerous occasions, favorable to all increase of their revenue, and hostile to all religious corporations, this injurious

system of education may be abolished. And it will be still more important to suppress, a second time, the nunneries in Rome, as girls are sent there for education from the Tuscan and Neapolitan States. More remarks will be made on this subject in the chapter on Italian nobility.

The Augustin monks and nuns live upon a fasting diet, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday, and the monastery of La Scala, and nunneries of St. Paul the hermit, St. Theresa, St. Peter, St. Joseph, Paulotte, and the Madonna of the Angels, never eat meat, except in case of sickness. Ten Franciscan and Augustin convents at Rome, constantly employ one of the lay brothers to beg in public. He goes through the streets and into houses where strangers lodge, carrying a small black leather bag under his cloak. He gets from sixty to eighty cents a day. They also receive money for saying masses for the souls of the dead, and are often desired to walk at funerals, where each monk receives five cents, besides the wax candle that he carries. Moreover, many convents have a church in which preaching and public offices are held; all these occasions serve as a pretext for asking charity. Still, these resources are not sufficient, and they are aided from time to time by the government, or by rich Cardinals. The monks are entitled to receive from the convent a woollen tunick every three,

and a mantle every eight years. All poor orders, men as well as women, wear either a woollen shirt, or strips of linen next the body. In summer this shirt is washed every fortnight, but in winter only once a month. They have sandals bound round the feet with thongs of leather, and except it rains or the weather is very cold, the head is left bare, and the cowl, of such rare use to Mrs. Ratcliffe, hangs down upon the shoulders.

In the convent of ai Cappucini, now made famous by the pictures of Granet, a little cell about seven feet long and five wide, is appropriated to each monk. I saw several of these cells, and the furniture was generally a bed with two thin blankets—a night lamp, a chair and table, three or four small religious works, and sometimes a brass or wooden clock. There is not a fireplace in any cell of any convent in Rome, and having been frequently during the winter to visit an intelligent monk in one of the largest convents of the city, I have it in my power to bear testimony to the great coldness of these rooms. There is always, however, a brazier in the refectory, and to these the monks go to warm themselves. At the dinner table in the ai Cappucini each monk had a small cloth and a napkin to himself—a plate of cabbage, another of turnips, a bit of fish, a slice of bread, and a jug of

water. This was the dinner at twelve o'clock on Friday, a day on which they always abstain from meat, as well as from their customary chocolate in the morning, and content themselves with half a ration for supper. They get up at midnight, and again at six in the morning, to say the offices. There are about four acres of land in the garden of this convent, which the monks cultivate with vegetables.

The "monk priests" are obliged to know Latin, that is, ecclesiastical Latin, without it they cannot be ordained; the laics, men as well as women are ignorant of it, but they attend the choir. They are obliged to say the office together, so that it is more difficult to hasten. With the exception of particular orders, they say the mass, confess the people, preach and dine. After dinner they go to bed, particularly those who have to say mass at midnight; at that time they say the matins and "praises" and from matins till noon they say the first, third, sixth and ninth hour vespers and "complete" are said about three hours before sunset.

At the restoration of the Pope, the monks refused to return to their convents, setting forth the sacred oath they had sworn to the French, but the government threatened to withdraw the pensions of all those who were not found in certain convents at a particu-

lar time, and those convents have now a population fully adequate to their revenues. In the provinces few convents having been restored, the pensions were continued, a circumstance certainly profitable to the state, and probably grateful to the individual, for most of those religious persons whose age and infirmities at the time did not prevent, and after an interval of twenty years it will serve little purpose to include them in the account, engaged in some calling; and many of them, particularly the nuns, were married. According to the probabilities of human life a small proportion only of those persons expelled from convents at the eruption of the French into Italy, would have been alive in 1814. But the fact seems well confirmed, that adults forced suddenly to change their course of life, and more especially their country, and this applies particularly to emigrants, somewhat exceed the average number of years assigned to a generation.

The monks and nuns of the richer orders, not included in the name of mendicant or Franciscan, have a respectable appearance, and addict themselves to no particular penance or self-denial. In general, they observe no more fasts than are prescribed to all the church; and if they go to prayer five times in the twenty-four hours, they are no more meritorious than

all men, who perform faithfully the calling appointed unto them; and surely no man will say, that the duties of a monk are to be named, on the score of toil and hardship, with the trades that the great proportion of men drive. As for seclusion from the world, the average are not more secluded and obscure in convents than they would have been in their paternal houses. All monks have permission to leave their convents at certain hours, and there is but one nunnery which forbids its inhabitants holding converse with their relatives whenever they choose. As for the monotony of the life, it is no doubt very great; for three-fourths of it is passed in sleep and prayers, which, managed as they are in convents, doubtless resemble sleep, and the rest a little reading and writing, coarse work or unprofitable amusement. I saw among the ruins, in the museum of the celebrated Val-lambrosa, devastated by the French, several hundred little seals in sulphur, which a patient monk had passed a whole life in copying from the briefs, pastoral letters, and other religious documents preserved in the library. But this monotony is hardly less great or dispiriting, than that to which the Italians of the higher classes are condemned in the world; and it is precisely the monotony of that existence, joined with the great numbers of the Italian nobility, their po-

verty, and the reproach which belongs to industry, that will always supply the convents, until a government shall come sufficiently powerful and enlightened to oblige this useless and degraded population to engage in the public and private concerns of the nation. As for their abstemious diet, of which the pious catholics make so great a merit, I am satisfied by details of the manner of living of several convents at Rome, that the average of the monks do not submit to more denials than they would have been forced to do in other vocations. A difficulty of supporting themselves, and not a pious motive, is one of the chief reasons that leads men to convents. It is only another form of receiving parish aid. The council of New Castille, in its celebrated project of reform, of 1619, prayed the King, that the number of monasteries might be reduced, for they served only as a shelter to the indolent against want.

Still there is no doubt that these persons, in the present time, are free from those vices with which they were formerly reproached. If their lives are unprofitable and unbecoming, they are still innocent and undefiled. In their appearance there is no sign of debauchery,* gluttony, licentious-

* The proverb, however, still goes through the markets of Rome, "The fattest oxen were sent by heaven for the convents."

ness, or of more bad passions than belong to the same number of individuals in all classes. They have generally a pale, though healthy look, and a perfectly becoming and just mien and carriage. It is equally rare to see a monk bearing the marks of much indulgence, or of great penance. After all, the Italians regard the monastic life as a profession, nor in their thought is either gloom or mystery attached to convents. The first monk a protestant traveller meets with, may, perhaps, make him shudder; and if he has been a diligent reader of romances, he will probably see under his cowl a vast variety of bad passions and black plots, but in a few weeks he will heed such a personage as little as he would do a soldier or a porter; and if he will take the trouble to look without prejudice, and to inquire into the tenor of the man's life, he will at length come to see under this cowl a pale, smooth face, denoting, for the most part, great indolence of spirit, great carelessness about the concerns of the world, and a great absence of active passions.

The best farms in Greece are now owned and tilled by Caloyers, Greek monks; in the 12th century the Cluniacensi, Camaldolesi, Carthusiani, Vallambrosani and Benedictini in Italy went out into

the desolate and abandoned places, both to cultivate with their own hands and to animate the serfs and free men who accompanied them. It is to this day one of the rules of the Franciscan order, "*vel labore vel mendicitate victum et amictum et alia necessaria acquirunt*," and Italy is indebted to that order that some of its most fertile districts were rescued so soon from solitude and barrenness. It is true the monks did not neglect to remunerate themselves for this industry and hardihood, by appropriating to themselves on many occasions the richest and most delicious sports, a circumstance, which those, who understand human nature and the just claims of the individuals, will not wonder at, though most travellers in Italy, and particularly Mr. Addison, remark upon it with a satirical and reviling spirit. From 1230 to 1300 the Umiliati became celebrated in most Italian towns for great skill in the manufacture of cloth, and they pretend to have been the inventors of gold and silver stuffs.

It is not expected that the monks will work in these days, not even in copying missals, and the quarter part of the people who are in convents, would not work, even if they were not there, but it is an important matter to oblige families and not the state, to maintain persons possessing similar dispositions.—

There is still ignorance and superstition enough in Italy to make the convents rich again. All the wealthy and powerful families have a close connexion with the church either through Cardinals, Bishops or humbler personages, so that the church in every part of Italy (except Lombardy) is still a profession giving the greatest influence and the best income. In the French times, priests and monks were scoffed and railed at and driven away with ignominy from their possessions and professions. Even in 1819 I have seen many a Franciscan friar standing with a rent garment and a bare head, at post houses and other public places, humbly soliciting charity. There is danger that such persecutions and such spectacles may by and by awaken the sympathy and compassion of the people.

X There are still a few industrious, learned and distinguished persons among the monks, or that have lately come from them. The present pope was a monk in the convent of St. Calista, and most of the cardinals and important personages in the church have passed several years in the cloister. A few are engaged as confessors, and more as instructors in families. These men are accounted pious, upright, and as performing meekly, and with fidelity, those important duties. A Franciscan, an intelligent and learned man, has been for many years a tutor in the fami-

ly of one of the Bonapartes. Occasionally there appears also a monk going through Italy to preach, sure to get a great name and large contributions for the church in which he preaches. I did not hear that any monk had lately made himself eminent by literary performances.

Making of nuns. A girl, feeling a disposition to give herself to God, passes a year of probation in a convent or somewhere within its inspection. The probation being finished, and her resolution still firm, the penitent passes ten or twelve days in continual holy meditation and exercises, apart from all intercourse with her family and the sisters, in order still further to purify her soul, and to satisfy herself that there no longer lingers in her heart a single feeble regret or craving for the world.—At nine o'clock in the morning we went to the church belonging to the convent of the Infant Jesus. The white veil was about to be taken by Theresa Gentilucci, daughter of a respectable inhabitant of Frascati. The cardinal and his attendants having arrived and being placed within the altar, the candidate entered from the door of the convent, followed by her mother and one of her chosen friends. They were all dressed with the utmost gaiety, in silks, laces and ribbons, as if for a nuptial feast; and they had just come from making visits of

eternal adieu to the friends and relations of the young lady. The catholics are mistaken in supposing that such violent contrasts produce any real effect upon the heart, as if we are more deeply touched in seeing a girl, purposely arrayed in the most shining apparel, condemn herself in the presence of five hundred spectators to severe solitude and penitence. Most people would see in such a sight little more than a poor theatrical contrivance.

The candidate was about twenty-eight years, of a healthy and rugged appearance, and seemed to have a constitution that would withstand many years of fasting and midnight prayer. The cardinal asked her what she came to seek, "I solicit," she answered in a firm and unnaturally loud voice, "to be clothed with the religious habit and to be received among the sisters of this convent." A priest then rose from his seat, and, having taken off his black cap, made a bow to the altar and to the cardinal, he placed himself again in his arm-chair and began a discourse in commendation of the monastic life, from this text, "*De profundis clamavi ad te, domine; Domine, exaudi vocem meam.*" This discourse was in latin, and was pronounced with great emphasis and vehemence. At the conclusion of it all in the altar fell upon their knees, and the shrill voices of the nuns, chaunting

the litany of the saints, issued from a close wooden lattice opposite the altar. "*Christe, exaudi nos.*" "*Santa Maria, ora pro nobis.*" "*Ab omni malo, libera nos, domine,*" &c. &c. A priest then approached the victim, and cutting off one of the longest locks of her hair, placed it on a waiter, over which a great quantity of cotton wool had been scattered; whereupon the abbess and "Vicaria," both aged persons, and dressed in black robes, girded about the loins with a leather thong, wearing also long black veils, seized with an eager grasp upon the penitent, and truly like two Fates cut away every lock of her hair, removed with great dexterity the fine silks and ribbons, fastened upon her the black tunick of the order, bound about her waist a large rosary, and threw over her head a long white veil. As a lock or a ribbon fell, the candidate exclaimed in the same loud voice, "thus I shake off the world and all its vanities."

It is said that the Dutless de la Valliere cut off her long and splendid hair with her own hands, and sent it to her daughter, Mademoiselle de Blois. The cardinal placed the crown of glory upon her head, saying, "*veni, Sponsa Christi,*" and the whole hymn was immediately chaunted by the sisters. He then placed a crucifix and a lighted candle in her hand, and she

returned into the convent, where she was joined by the whole sisterhood, chaunting "Te deum laudamus."

The noviciate lasts one year and three days, during which time the penitent never leaves the convent, except with an attendant, but she is still free to obtain permission to throw off the white veil and return to the world. This is a year of fasting, prayer, and holy meditation. There was an interesting ceremony for the black veil, on the 17th of January, in the convent called St. Joseph, a Capo le Case. It was for the solemn induction of sister Maria Josephine Theresa. The cardinal and attendants, with the orator who delivered a Latin discourse from the text, "discedite a me omnes, qui operamini iniquitatem, quoniam exaudivit dominus vocem fletus mei," were the only persons who appeared on the occasion. The little nun, covered with a white veil, and holding a candle and crucifix, placed herself in silence at a small grate over the altar; she was still young, with a pale and delicate face, and a meek, gentle, and mild mien and expression. The shadows of the other nuns were scarcely visible through the close grates above the altar. The "Veni creator Spiritus" and Litany were again chaunted, and the little nun, still standing at

the grate, recited in a faint and broken voice, the profession of faith, and the four vows of obedience, chastity, poverty and seclusion. The cardinal then unfolding the black veil, passed it through a narrow hole from the altar into the convent. Shortly after, the nun appeared again at the grate with the black veil, and a crown upon her head; the whole convent immediately chaunted, "Veni Sponsa Christi." Having received a candle and crucifix, she is conducted in procession to the refectory, with the hymn of "Te deum laudamus," and then she is embraced by all the sisterhood. It is sometimes part of the ceremony to place the nun in a coffin, and to chaunt the service of the dead over her. A sonnet is also frequently written on these occasions. The sonnet for sister Theresa was written by her brother, and dedicated to "her Excellency the Lady Charlotte Bonaparte Gabrielli, princess of Prossedi," eldest daughter of Lucien Bonaparte, and married to a Prince of the Roman house of Gabrielli.

"Germana, or, che servir la sacra Legge
Tu lieta giuri in sen del Tempio all' Ara,
Poichè 'l gran Dio, che purità protegge
Talamo nuovo in Ciel per te prepara.

Or, che TERESA in Figlia sua ti elegge,
Onde festa ne fan Rachele, e Sara,

Mentre t' offri a colui, che tutto regge
Vittima bella, preziosa, e cara.

Vola agli amplessi del Celeste Sposo,
E ti rammenta del Fratel, che resta
Per lunga via, perchè volar non oso ;

Ond' io dirò vera Germana è questa,
M' animò, mi scortò col glorioso
Dibatter d' Ali, che dal Sonno desta."

DI GIUSEPPE SCIFONI FRATELLO DELLA CANDIDATA

I obtained permission to visit the nunnery called "Tor di Specchio," one of the richest and most respectable of Rome, having twenty-one nuns, great rents, and requiring one thousand eight hundred dollars of expences for the ceremony of vestire. I was received in a room just beyond the grate in which the confessor of the convent, a red faced, good natured looked man, was warming himself; a "converse" spinning flax, and the sister whose duty it was to wait in the room for the week. In the garden, great numbers of roses and other flowers were cultivated. I was led through several corridors, at the end of each of which was placed an image of the Saviour, or the Virgin, with a lamp burning before it. In the corridor of the second story, the cells of the sisters were situated, each covered towards the passage by a large green curtain. These cells looked into the

garden, and opposite each door in the corridor was placed a large stand of ashes, at which the nuns cooked their morning chocolate and warmed themselves. The dining room was large, and the tables were well covered with green baize. In the middle of the room there was a pulpit, from which a sister read in turn religious works during the meals, a practice which prevails in nearly all Roman convents; the word "Silentium,," in large letters was cut deep in a stone over the principal door. The kitchen was large but dirty. In this nunnery there were three chapels, one church for summer and another for winter. I was suffered to enter the cell of the superior, who received me with great courtesy. She was sitting upon a bed, that she had not left for three years, spinning flax, and holding a large rosary in one hand. She was at that time eighty-three years of age, and had entered the convent at twelve for her education, which she had never left since that hour, having been suffered to remain during the French time. She spoke much, and with great vivacity. There were six or seven straw bottomed chairs in her little cell, a handsome, but old fashioned clock, a small wardrobe and a few religious prints. In several cells, which happened to be open as I passed, I saw books, flowers in the windows—a harpsicord, a harp and

some other musical instruments. In this convent, meat is eaten four times a week, and the order of the day is as follows, much resembling that of all convents. In summer they get up at five. Prayers last an hour and half—breakfast at seven—prayer still eight—prayers again at ten—dine at eleven—after dinner sleep—evening office at four—supper at six, and bed at eight. In the intervals of meals and offices, the sisters read pious books, talk, walk, embroider, tear lint for hospitals, or do coarse work. They confess themselves and take the sacrament every eight days; they confess themselves to a priest named by the head of the order; he is changed several times a year. The person, who conducted me, was a princess of a Roman family. She had taken the veil twenty-one years ago, but possessed perfect ease, simplicity and courtesy. She spoke of those matters, which are always subjects of conversation in drawing rooms, of antiquities, carnivals, deaths of *queens, &c. Her dress was coarse black, and by no means neat. She was perfectly affable, and answered with great complaisance numerous troublesome questions. Indeed, there was not the slightest tinge of gloom, or solitude, or austerity about this convent, or in the appearance and

* Just at this time three queens had died in Europe.

manners of the few nuns, whom I happened to see. I recollect hearing an aged Roman lady, who possessed a vast experience in courts, convents, drawing-rooms, boudoirs, and of every thing else which relates to the world, remark some time, after that of all creatures she had ever seen, the most amiable in their manners, and good natured, were nuns.

Vive Seppolte.—As its name denotes, the nuns of this convent never see the face of any human being but of the inmates of it. They confess themselves to a confessor through a brass plate, pierced with small holes; they are allowed to hold converse with their friends only once a year, through a similar plate. No window or any kind of opening looks upon a street or any sort of building; all the light comes from their own court yard. They wear woollen next their skin, which is changed only once a month, sleep in their clothes upon straw, and wear pieces of leather tied about their feet. At the restoration of the pope all returned, excepting one, who went to a similar convent at Albano. They have now fifty-four nuns, and one of them unluckily possesses a large fortune. No convent in Rome receives such abundant charity. At the head of the staircase, leading to this nunnery, a large solid barrel, girt with iron, and divided into eight parts, is fixed into the thick wall of the building, and

made to turn, so that articles may be conveyed from and into the convent. We knocked upon this wall and immediately a voice answered from within, "Praise be to our Lord Jesus Christ," and said, "what come ye to seek." We desired to speak with the abbess. Whereupon the invisible person rung a bell, and turning the barrel, a key was brought to our view, that was taken by a man, who had appeared at the ringing, and who unlocked the "parlatoire," a small room, in one corner of which was a plate of copper, twelve or fourteen inches square, fixed in the wall, and pierced with the finest holes imaginable. Over this plate the following lines were written:

"Chi vol vivere contenta
In queste Mura
Lasci alla porta
Ogni mondana cura."

and over the barrel, which I have already mentioned,

"Godia una pace incognita
Chi in questa prima soglia
Dal volontario arbitrio
Per pur amor si spoglia."

The abbess now spoke to us from the other side of the plate, "I salute you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." This person had a lively voice and cheerful manner, and she spoke with perfect freedom

and willingness about her own concerns and those of the convent. She told us that she had taken the veil thirty-eight years ago, and had been made abbess at the restoration. She said, moreover, that the sisters were happy, enjoyed good health, and that she had never seen a dissatisfied look, or heard a repentant wish. This was no doubt true; people are contented in many conditions worse than that of the *Vive Seppolte*, and conditions, too, which they never regard as probations or martyrdoms, to be rewarded in another world. In 1815 the Pope had permitted this convent to be re-established, and since that time not a human face, beyond those of the sisterhood, had been seen by any inhabitant of it. Judging from the sound of this woman's voice, and her rapid, pleasant, and animated conversation, it is evident that she had neither regretted nor suffered much from this deprivation. She appeared to have vast vivacity, and much playfulness of mind, and was a great talker. Still it did not often befall her to speak to foreigners through the grate, and much allowance ought to be made for the excitement which a similar situation doubtless awakened. When a small tribute was turned upon the barrel into the convent, she said, "God has sent us this gift." "Those, who sent it, will be remembered in our prayers."

Having seen and heard much of the convents at Rome, I am satisfied that the inhabitants of them do not condemn themselves to many deprivations and mortifications, which they would not have suffered in the ordinary chances of a different life, that the passions, which exist there, are less active, violent and frequent, and that the carelessness of mind, health of body, and absence from all gloom and severity, utterly contradict and put to shame the theories and creeds of the world. One cannot discourse too long upon the impossibility of ascertaining the relative amount of happiness in the different courses of life to which habit, inclination, or chance, may call. A foreign gentleman, who had lived twenty years in Rome, told me that he had never heard of any scandalous conduct in any nunnery during all that time.

KINGDOM OF NAPLES.

*CHAPTER XIII.

GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES.

Great reform begun under Tanucci—made himself remarkable in 1734, by a memorial defending some Spanish officers, &c.—Reform begun in Italy before French revolution—as early as 1737, proposed to appropriate all ecclesiastical revenues to the crown—right of asylum abolished—1738, Codex Carolinus compiled—1746 inquisition abolished—Nunziatura at Naples removed—1759 protection of subject against feudal lords—Jesuits expelled—“China” refused to court at Rome—Barons allowed to alienate their possessions—great changes as to feudal property and privileges continued and completed by Joachim Murat—1441 rents abolished—great changes in government—Judiciary—Ferdinand grants pension to the son of Giannone—present Neapolitan dominions—conditions of restoration highly favourable to subject—all Neapolitans equally eligible to offices, &c.—sales of national domains confirmed—revolution of Palermo a mystery—queen defeated—eldest son Francis made Vicar, and Lord Bentick commander of the forces—government despotic and condition of subject depends upon the goodness of the king—anecdote of archbishop of Taranto—experiment of regeneration not yet made.

FROM 1504 to 1734 the kingdom of Naples was oppressed and desolated by Regents and Viceroy.

* A few of the facts in this chapter, relating to the form of the government, differ slightly as to date and some other particulars, from a French work entitled “*Mémoires historiques et philosophiques sur Pie VI.*,” &c. in two vols. 8vo. This work

About the last mentioned period, an independent sovereign, Charles III. infant of Spain, and grandson of Louis XIV., was established on the throne. About that time too, a reform of many of the iniquitous practices which for many years had been suffered to devour this highly favoured region was begun under the auspices of the Marquis Tanucci, formerly a citizen of Tuscany, and lecturer on public law in the university of Pisa. This remarkable man first recommended himself in 1734 to the notice of Charles, by defending in a public writing the conduct of some Spanish officers, who had dared literally to tear from the horns of the altar a soldier just guilty of a most wicked murder. In the same composition he did not fear to deny with the utmost force and freedom the right of the church to shelter assassins, and to set forth the universal abuse of ecclesiastical privileges. It will readily be conceived, that the king could not

contains many curious details, for the authenticity of which there is abundant proof; and it is well spoken of in the *Journal General de la Literature de France*. vol. 2. for the year 1799, page 97. The work (however) is anonymous, and such authority may well be abandoned for the higher one of G. M. Arrighi in his *Saggio Storico, &c del Regno di Napoli*, 3 vols 8vo., without speaking of various other means of information less official and public. In the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 62., there is a review of two articles relating to the life of Pius VI., of which the author speaks with no great commendation, and then proceeds to give an account of the life of that Pontiff from "more authentic sources of information," "to which" he "happens to have access." It is satisfactory to find, that the authority of the *memoirs historiques sur Pie VI.* should be confirmed by the great uniformity of facts, contained in the celebrated work to which I have last alluded.

have chosen a more suitable minister to aid in the overthrow of clerical tyranny and prerogative. It ought to be remarked in this place, that the Court of France was one of the only two catholic courts in Europe, in which princes at that time were nourished in becoming sentiments of personal independence, a proper jealousy of papal pretension, and in some sort of regard for the rights of subjects. A similar and more effectual reform was begun a little before the middle of the last century in Tuscany, under the direction of the Grand Duke Leopold. Both those facts go to show, that long before the French Revolution, there was a disposition to reform in some of the Italian States. True it is, that that disposition was confined to the governments. I shall mention the most important facts accompanying the change made in the Neapolitan government, under the house of Bourbon, and continued and completed, during the reign of Joachim Murat.

In 1737, Tanucci presented a statement of the rents of the ecclesiastics, and of all property held in mortmain. He proposed to appropriate the revenues of all monastic institutions to the crown, by giving forty cents a day to each monk and nun, and sixty to each superior. This was thought sufficient for their daily use. The French afterward adopted a similar

expedient; no one doubts the good effects of such measures, but there can be as little doubt as to their injustice. The right of asylum was abolished in all civil and religious sanctuaries. To this day, there remains over the door of the royal chapel, the Favorita, at Portici, the following inscription, "In questa real Cappella non si gode asilo."

In 1738, a new code, called the Codex Carolinus, was formed. This immense labour, as the Neapolitan laws were made up of Roman, Longobard, French, Spanish, feudal, ecclesiastical, and particular customs and local practices, was given into the hands of Joseph Pascal Civillo. It was for some time a matter of doubt in what language these laws should be written. It seemed remarkable to the Neapolitan lawyers, all of whom had been bred in schools of civil law, that their own should not speak the language of Ulpian. At length, to satisfy both parties, and to prove that one was wanting in good sense, the laws were published both in Latin and Italian. This code, unhappily compiled with little judgment, does not appear to have effected one single good change in the administration of justice.

In 1741, the use of the Catasto was introduced, by which the ecclesiastics were assessed a fair proportion of land, and other direct taxes. They avoided, however paying the full annual amount till 1794.

In 1746, the inquisition was abolished forever by public edict. The king on this occasion, received an offering from the people of 300,000 dollars, as a token of their gratitude. The king sent the celebrated Abbe Galiani to demand from the Pope the right of nominating to all vacant bishopricks, and to fix a determined number of monks, nuns, and priests, who should alone be entitled to enjoy the privileges belonging to that profession. The briefs of the Romish court were declared of no avail without the royal exequatur, and no Popish Nuncio was permitted to exercise in times to come any jurisdiction in the Neapolitan dominions. The palace Della Nunziatura was situated in the Toledo, the principal street of Naples. Here the Nuncio resided with his court, judges, secretaries, attornies, clerks, notaries, jailers, and officers of police, and possessed a jurisdiction separate from and beyond the control of the government. Prisons were also attached to this palace.

Appeals to the court of Rome were forbidden, and profession of monastic life not permitted before the age of twenty-one years. 1759—Decree declared that all subjects should be protected in purchasing all products of the earth, without hindrance or preference of baron, or any other person whatsoever, and that poor debtors, after forty days imprisonment, should

be maintained at the expense of the creditor. A scheme was offered for a general reform of all external and internal duties, and for granting liberty to foreigners to settle and exercise trades in any part of the kingdom, in the free practice of their national religion—and to dig a canal between the Adriatic and the bay of Naples, in order to save doubling the point of the peninsula.

1769.—Jesuits expelled from the kingdom and property converted to the use of the state. It may be doubted if at that time the evil of expulsion was not greater than the good, for the Jesuits were chiefly charged with the instruction of youth. Even in the present time they have been recalled in several parts of Italy, on account of the want of schoolmasters.

1772.—Eighty-eight monasteries in Sicily were suppressed by a single edict. Tuscany and Naples have been more distinguished than other Italian states for this practice, but all catholic governments, particularly the Austrian, have exercised at intervals similar acts of authority.

The nuncio of the Pope, attempting to interfere in the affair of the divorce of the dutchess of Maddaloni, was officially informed, that divorce, by the practice of the kingdom, was only a civil contract.

Persons of religious communities forbidden to obey their generals who resided in foreign countries.—This was a bold blow against the papal government, inasmuch as the generals were appointed by the popes, and for the most part resided at Rome.

1742.—Two and a half millions of confiscated church land sold. China abolished.—China was a mule, richly caparisoned, given by princes feudatory of the church, to carry the holy sacrament in great processions, and in journies of the pope.

There is a long account of the splendid China presented by the prince Corsini, and by the noble family of Torres, originally from Spain, but settled in Rome, and inhabiting formerly a magnificent palace in the Foro Agonale. The china of the king of Naples was always accompanied with a purse of seven thousand crowns. Sixtus V. who professed to have claims to all the kingdoms of the earth, and would have been glad to have made himself Lord, in absolute fee, of all, said to the Neapolitan ambassador, who brought him the china in 1585, “this is a fine compliment, indeed, you make me, you oblige me to exchange a kingdom for a beast.”

In 1792 the first effectual approach was made towards the entire abolition of feudal jurisdiction. In that year three-fifths of the kingdom were in the pos-

session of the barons. By a royal decree the barons were allowed to alienate their possessions, and the government fixed as a general price, ten times the amount of the annual rent of such possessions.

The debt was redeemed by instalments, paying, till such redemption, an interest of three and a half per cent. All land thus bought became allodial, and renounced forever all jurisdiction. The government itself became a great purchaser. In 1734 it held only fifty-one domains, but in 1794 the number had increased to two hundred and three. No doubt but nearly every feudal estate in the kingdom could have been rescued, but the war of the French revolution came at that time to disturb the operations of the government. It remained with time to show, which would have been the most beneficial landlord, the king or the baron. It has been shown already, and will be still further shown in the chapter on finance, that the government had made every reform, except a wholesome code of laws, that the intelligence and condition of the people made them capable of receiving.

Joachim Murat established the French civil and criminal codes with the exception of trial by jury, and if the absence of a writ of habeas corpus is also noticed, it is not possible to find in any country of Eu-

rope a more beautiful theory of laws. But no writ of habeas corpus, or any substitute for it, has been inserted in any code promulgated on the continent of Europe. The celebrated law of August, 1806, distributed all the rents, services and exactions, into real, personal, and jurisdictional. By this law, the first set were to be preserved, but the two last abolished, on condition of indemnification to the barons, by the State. The French laws of 1792 and 93, abolishing feudalism in France, and afterwards applied to Piedmont, Parma, Rome, &c. abolished as feudal all rents which did not derive from the primitive concession of the soil, that is, what arose from tithes of the fruits of the earth or a commutation in money. But the Neapolitan law served to no other purpose than to embarrass the whole matter. It immediately became a question all over the kingdom, what were real, what personal, and what jurisdictional rents, to the degree, that the government was obliged to appoint a commission to go into every province, in order to examine the origin and nature of these different rents. After an enquiry of three years the Commission reported a list of the rents judged personal or jurisdictional, and therefore subject to the operation of the law. This list occupies sixty-nine quarto pages, and it would be difficult for the most ingenious statesman, of long ex-

perience and skill in the mystery of exaction, to devise, in many years, a register of taxes which would as effectually subject to contribution every conceivable luxury, comfort, want, caprice, feeling, necessity and movement of a people. The excises on rain water alone amount to four, on ovens to six, and tenths are exacted on forty-seven different articles of growth, &c. Such facts show, that where a great desire of wealth or of power has to do for several centuries with great ignorance or weakness, how little we have to expect from the natural justice and forbearance or the native spirit and independence of man. Entails and primogenitures are abolished, except upon certain conditions, and all offices are equally accessible to persons of all conditions. The present government has had the wisdom to retain the French code, till the commission, which has now been in session for eighteen months, shall have organised a new one. The old nobility were respected by the French, and the titles and rank of those created by them will be settled by the commission of codes.

The executive and legislative part of the government consist of nine ministers of state, each with a salary of ten thousand and eighty dollars, the judicatory consists of a supreme court of justice, "*gran corte suprema di giustizia*," residing always at Naples, and divided into two chambers, one having

jurisdiction in civil and the other in criminal matters. An appeal lies to this court from all courts of the kingdom. The judges have each a salary of 2100 dollars. Four great civil courts, in four capital towns, with a salary to the judges of 1260 dollars each. In each of the fifteen capitals of the Provinces there is a civil tribunal and a criminal and commercial one. In the first the Judges have a salary of 756 dollars, and in the second 1092. In each of the fifty two districts there is a judge of instruction, with a salary of 756 dollars. These different tribunals resemble precisely the French "*cour de Cassation*" "*cour royal*" and "*cour de premiere instance*." Like the Court of Cassation at Paris, the Corte Suprema of Naples judges only of violations in form of procedure and contravention of the law. The Judge of instruction corresponds somewhat to Grand Juries, except that the Judge is named for three years and is always in session. He may also transport himself to the house of the accused, and there take a note of all papers or matters which may be thought useful to the manifestation of the truth. A Judge of instruction is only wanted in those governments where all authority proceeds directly from the Sovereign, and where the citizens take no legal part in judging of the offences of individuals. Lists of sentences pro-

nounced by all the tribunals, and imperfect series of judgments issuing from the Court of Cassation, are published. This is the amount of all judiciary proceedings made public, known in this country under the name of Reports.

The Tribunals are public, and the witnesses are confronted with the prisoners. It is said that the nation is much disposed to litigation, and that trials are remarkable for length, and many ridiculous circumstances. This may proceed as well as from want of dexterity in the men, as from an inability to decide, arising chiefly from the rare practice of judging in the great matters of life. It is inconceivable how much is added to the expeditious and wholesome administration of justice when the minds of all men are constantly occupied in reflecting and deciding upon subjects of public trust and concern. It may also be feared that officers appointed and removed at the pleasure of an individual, who have no legislative body to protect, and little feeling of uprightness and independence in the community to uphold them, may sometimes be found wanting in this very uprightness and independence. There is no other way to account for the disgraceful circumstances attending the notorious trial at Rhodéz, circumstances which made French Judges and lawyers

the reproach and laughing stock of every reflecting person for a whole year.

Charles III., succeeded to his father on the throne of Spain, in 1759. On leaving Naples he published a solemn address to the nation, in which he declared, that "Ferdinand his third son was competent to receive the occupation of his Italian States, and he pronounced him to be free from that moment from his paternal and supreme royal authority." Ferdinand was at that time in his minority. His principal Instructor was the Prince Nicandro, who possessed no portion of public or political talents and no tincture of literature. The King received no other education, than great skill in the chase, and even at his present great age, he makes every month of his life remarkable by the massacre of vast numbers of stags and boars. But still at an early age he had the good sense to write the following most praiseworthy letter, to the son of a celebrated historian, and which is of itself sufficient to atone for much of his criminal waste of time. The more remarkable, as at the time the history was published in 1723, it was universally and severely condemned and prohibited, and by a decree of July first, of the same year, it was placed upon the index at Rome.—"The King having heard of the embarrassed circumstances

in which John Giannone, son and heir of the late Peter Giannone, author of the civil history of this Kingdom, is now placed, and considering that it does not become the prosperity of the realm, and the splendor of his reign, that the son of one of the greatest men, one most useful to the state and most unjustly persecuted, should be exposed to misery, his majesty has resolved to grant to the said John Giannone 300 ducats in an annual pension."

The King began his reign with the title of Ferdinand IV. But by 104 article of the Congress of Vienna it was converted into Ferdinand I, King of the two Sicilies. His dominions were all restored to their state before the French Revolution, except that he renounced the sovereignty of Porto Logone, in the Island of Elba—States of Presides, with a population of 42000 souls in Tuscany and the principality of Piombino: an armistice was concluded the 20th May, 1815, between General Coletta, on the part of the Neapolitan government, and Lord Bentick and General Neipperg, on the part of the English and Austrian.

1. Full and entire amnesty for all opinions and conduct held anterior to the restoration of Ferdinand.

2. All sales of national domains shall be irrecoverably maintained.

3. Public debt is guaranteed.

4. All Neapolitans shall be capable of being appointed to offices.

5. Ancient and new nobility are continued.

The 17th of June Ferdinand entered Naples.

The factions in the army were so violent between the partizans of the last and present government, with which factions the nobility and chief officers were all tinctured, that the king having already seen, in 1816, what persecution one party would inflict upon the other, truly resembling the massacres and proscriptions of Lyons and its neighbourhood under General Canuel, and being satisfied that it would be the least evil to intrust the direction of the military department to a foreign officer, named to that effect, in 1817, Count Nugent, created a Roman prince in 1816 by Pius. This nobleman, whose father had been governor of Prague, is descended from a Scotch family, and has served with much success in the Austrian armies during the last campaign.

The revolution of Palermo is still a mystery in history. It only appears that the queen, Maria Caroline, of Austria, was at the head of a faction hostile to the English; and that on the 19th of July, 1811, four Sicilian barons (all the barons of the island having declared for the king), were arrested by her orders and conveyed forthwith to the neighbouring

islands. The queen, moreover, required that the English forces should evacuate Sicily, setting forth that the government was sufficiently strong of itself to frustrate all attempts of Murat. In this dangerous moment, Lord William Bentick caused fifteen persons, accused of being concerned in a conspiracy to betray Sicily and the English army, to be arrested. This display of power, and the strength of the English, alarmed the court. The king by a decree, dated January 16, 1812, stated that the feebleness of his health forced him to leave for some time the management of affairs, and he, in consequence, appointed his eldest son, Francis Joseph Xavier, grand vicar. The regent immediately named Lord Bentick general in chief of the Sicilian troops, and a parliament assembled July 1, 1812, decreed a constitution, modelled after the English. This parliament published various bills and decrees in years 1813, 14, and 15, amounting to a small volume in 12mo., but in May, 1819, the king published a decree, stating that the constitution of 1812 no longer existed, and that the island of Sicily would hereafter be annexed to the kingdom of Naples, with a uniformity of laws, duties and taxes. It is said, that the land tax of Naples being nearly twenty per cent. will ruin Sicily.

The government is despotic, and judges with equal authority, ministers, generals and bishops; all hang upon the good pleasure of the king; but there is a wholesome code of laws, and no lack of judgment-seats, for in a population of 5,000,000 there are eighty-nine civil and criminal tribunals in session annually. The Communes and peasantry are emancipated from feudal bonds and burthens, and with only one *exception, a becoming regard has been showed to the measures and creations of the past government. It is true, there is no trial by jury; and no one is at a loss to conceive that it would be difficult to find in the provincial towns, men competent to such high duties. The last quality in an Italian is, that of justice. There is also no habeas corpus; and every one will see, that such a writ would be perfectly ineffectual, where there was no legislative body to protect the subject in the application of it, and no

* I am not sufficiently informed of the circumstances to say, that this was really an act of oppression. At any rate, I will relate the fact as I heard it from the aggrieved person himself. The archbishop of Tarento, an ingenious personage of much taste, has been ordered lately either to resign his see, or to leave Naples and reside at Tarento. The archbishop is now a very old man, and having spent nearly all his life in the court and society of Naples, such an order amounts to a cruel exile. He declared there was no better reason for this measure, than a friendship with Caroline, late queen of Naples.

supreme court with an existence and jurisdiction independent of the caprice or injustice of the sovereign. And after all, it must be confessed, that in such governments the only hope for the subject is sub rego pio.

How much the condition of the people will be improved, must now depend upon the character of the sovereign; for he alone holds the purse and fasces of the whole state. But one thing is certain. The French revolution has, every where in Italy, increased the power of the sovereign, both by relieving him from a great pressure of debt, but more especially by relieving him from the resistance of great and powerful feudal barons. The sovereign, by an arbitrary act, abolished oppressive institutions and practices. The same arbitrary power remains in his hands, and it therefore remains to be seen, if the people will be as apt to fall again into servitude and misery, now that all the authority is accumulated upon the person of the king, as when it was divided between king and nobles.

Again, it now remains to be seen, if a government can be made sufficiently liberal and enlightened, and at the same time sufficiently powerful, to produce any real and lasting regeneration in a people, drilled for five centuries to the constant exercise of the greatest servitude, ignorance, poverty and corruption.

CHAPTER XIV.

POPULATION OF KINGDOM AND CITY OF NAPLES.

Amount of population in 1808—losses by Revolution, robberies, domestic commotions—conscriptions—extraordinary losses readily supplied—detail of population of kingdom in 1818—remarks on number of males and females—married and unmarried—widows and widowers—population of city of Naples—births—deaths—months when most numerous—number of persons passing one hundred years—Naples more healthy than Montpellier—state of foreigners—account of Catasto—Lady Montague's opinion of fruitfulness of Turkish women controverted.

IN 1518 the population of this kingdom was 2,100,000. It increased to 2,763,000 in 1649, and from 4,311,503 in 1777 it increased again to 4,950,533 in 1791; but from the last named period it has increased only to 5,052,261 in 1818. The remarkable increase from 1777 to 1791, may be well attributed to the reform begun under Charles III. and during the administration of the celebrated Tanucci, named equally the Sully and Colbert of the kingdom. The increase reduced in the third period to an annual average of nearly 3800, must be attributed to the unsuccessful efforts of the Neapolitans to resist the French.

to the four entire revolutions which this people has passed through since the first flight of the king in 1798, to the absence of commerce during the governments of the Parthenopeian Republic, of Joseph Bonaparte and of Joachim Murat, and to the conscriptions both for foreign and domestic wars.

The following details of direct loss to population, are the results of some calculations made from documents existing in a public office at Naples.

1. Army (70,000 men) under Mack in 1798, Lazzaroni, who defended Naples, and proscriptions attending the Revolutions of that period, particularly those of Cardinal Ruffo	30,000
2. Wars, during the French government, with the robbers in the Calabrias and the southern provinces of the Adriatic, (losses of both sides)	21,000
3. In campaigns made with the army of Italy, or conjointly with the French armies in Spain, Germany and Russia, including the last campaign of Murat, in 1815	90,000
	<hr/> 191,000

Making an annual average of nearly 11,235, falling upon 830,000 males, the yearly number of men between the ages of twenty and forty, taking 5,000,000 as a mean population from 1798 to 1815. According to the calculations of Buffon and Price, one twentieth of these 830,000 would die annually from causes separate from those of war, equal to 41,500

Add the destruction above-named	-	11,235
		<hr/> 52,735

Making an annual waste of 52,735 of that portion of the population most capable of adding to the numbers, strength, and wealth of a nation. Upon a population of 5,000,000, in which there are 2,400,000 of all ages, about *16,000 more than are wanted to restore the annual marriages, enter the military age, say of twenty, every year; the destruction, therefore, by war, in the present instance, appears to be 4765 less than the annual supply. Even a greater number than this would be ready for the consumption of war if

* One quarter who enter the military age, have not the necessary height, and one seventeenth are infirm or diseased. Deduct also nobles, ecclesiastics, and all privileged persons. Since the war of the revolution, France raises one man in every hundred and twenty-seven of the male population between twenty and forty years. In old Prussia the military part of the population is a little more than one-tenth.

the proportion between the married and the unmarried held the same rates as in 1818, there being that year 1,884,583 married and 2,558,683 unmarried, without comprehending priests, monks, or nuns. Still, it is now well known, that destruction by extraordinary causes of long continuance has no other effect than to increase the number of generations without diminishing the amount of population, provided that the same facilities of maintaining a family continue to exist. Population in France proper has increased from 26,000,000 before the revolution, amount at which the most exact calculations have placed it, to 29,327,388, in 1819, at a time when it has been subjected to an annual loss of little less than 80,000, from war and causes incident to war; the births in France having increased from one in twenty-six to one in twenty-one and twenty-three. One of the most extraordinary facts, however, in support of this principle, took place in Prussia at the time of the plague in 1709—10.

Before the plague marriages were 6000. One year after, 12,028.

————— births were 22,000. One year after, 32,000.

Proportion between marriages and births: Before the plague, 10 to 24. One year after, 10 to 43.

Proportion between deaths and births: Before the plague, 100 to 132. One year after, 100 to 320.

So that marriages had doubled, and were nearly doubly fruitful. Another very curious fact, leading to a similar conclusion, will be mentioned in the chapter on Rice cultivation.

From a report of the direction "del Censimento e Statistica elementare" the population for 1818, of the fifteen provinces this side the *Faro, is as follows:

Males - - - - -	2,423,295	
Females - - - - -	2,628,967	
		5,052,262
Divided into Married - - -	1,884,583	
Unmarried - - -	2,558,683	
Widowers - - -	189,683	
Widows - - -	374,231	
Clergy - - -	33,479	
Monks - - -	4,556	
Nuns - - -	7,047	
		5,052,262

CONTAINING

{ Males, from 1 to 10 years,	668,188 }
{ Females, 1 to 10 do.	678,857 }

Carried forward - - 1,347,045

* Faro, light-house of straits of Messina. "The other side Faro" comprehends Sicily, of which no notice is taken in this work.

Brought forward - - 1,347,045			
{ Males, -	11 to 20 years,	346,269	}
{ Females, -	11 to 20 do.	379,968	}
{ Males, -	21 to 30 do.	325,316	}
{ Females, -	21 to 30 do.	369,897	}
{ Males, -	31 to 40 do.	494,244	}
{ Females, -	31 to 40 do.	536,968	}
{ Males, -	41 and upwards,	589,278	}
{ Females, -	41 and do.	663,277	}
			<hr/> 5,052,262

The females, therefore, make nearly one twenty fifth part of the population more than the males. In England in 1812 the females exceeded the males by one in twenty-one, and in France by one thirty-third, whereas in the United States in 1810 the males were to the females as 100 to 96-17; notwithstanding that in Europe in general the male births exceed the female in the proportion 13 to 12. But wars, emigrations, painful and dangerous labours and greater temptations as well as greater indulgence in vice, cause a more than equal consumption of this part of the population. In England the difference is made more manifest by the numerous unwholesome manufactures in which men are exclusively engaged; by a large number employed in the navy and merchant ships; (in 1812, 640,000) and by a large number living in the various colonies either for commercial purposes or for the protection of those colonies.

It also appears from other documents that one in two and an eighth of the Neapolitan population live in towns; this proportion according to general principles would give a mortality of about 1 in 32; whereas in England, according to a return made to the House of Commons in 1811, there are 895,998 agricultural families, and all families 2,544,213, yielding about 1 in 3 engaged in agriculture, and a mortality of 1 in 36. In France the proportion, according to Arthur Young is still more favourable.

In this Kingdom therefore, the males living more in towns, are more exposed to debauchery and to all the ill consequences of worse air and lodgings, and though there is but a small navy, few manufactures and no commerce, the men suffer from being engaged in fisheries along the coast, and from watching flocks on the mountains, both of which occupations are reckoned unwholesome. The sirocco and mal Aria are also more fatal to the males as they are more exposed.

Married. Mourgue states that the mean age of 11,703 males who died at Montpellier from 1772 to 1779, was 24 years 3 months and 15 1-3 days, and of 11,663 females the mean age was 28 years 3 months 23 3-4 days; but according to the most extensive calculations, about 32 years is the average age of man in Europe, there dying in the most open country one

fortieth, and in the largest towns between* one twenty-fourth and one twenty-fifth. I find that the proportion of married in seven nations of Europe is 1 in 101; therefore as the average age of man is 32 years, it is evident that thirty-three and one sixth in a hundred of the population is in a married condition. In the Kingdom of Naples, 1,884,583 being married it follows that thirty-three hundredth less about one-eighth, are in that state.

The Married.—It is proved by the tables of Daigman and Moheau that marriage renders man longer lived. From the celebrated register of the Parish of St. Sulpice in Paris from 1715 to 1744 where half the males were unmarried, it appears that the proportion of the unmarried, who reached 90 years was only as 9 to 43 to that of the married. I shall also add here from the same Register, another most important fact, though not immediately relating to the subject, viz. the deaths of children nursed by mothers, to deaths of children nursed, by nurses were only as 3 to 5.

* No doubt this average would not be found quite correct if the difference of proportion of population between towns and country was taken into consideration, but bearing in mind that the mean deaths in the small and large towns are different, and there being also a great variety of degrees in the population of towns, it will be found sufficiently exact to take a medium between the two extremes.

Widows.—The proportion between widows and widowers is not greater in this than is observed in all countries. Price states that there is a chance of 7 to 4, that the woman will be the survivor of the marriage. Without attending to the greater mortality to which men are subject, this may be accounted for by the greater mean age at which they marry. In Scotland 19 married clergymen to 11 married women died annually, and Dr. Price even supposes, that as in Germany four times as many widows die as widowers, and as the widows are upon an average several years younger than the widowers, the number of the first in society must be at least five times greater than the number of the second. Another author states that one-fifth part of the males married are widowers, and Muret makes a calculation that one hundred men marry one hundred and ten women, for which Gioja gives the following reasons.

1. The beauty peculiar to women, passes sooner than the beauty (made up in a good degree, of strength) peculiar to men.
2. Every unsuccessful attempt of a widow to be married, diminishes the number of widows married; but it does not prevent a widower from contracting marriage with a virgin.
3. A woman with children finds more difficulty in being married than a man in the same situation.

Population of the City of Naples.—The whole population in 1817, was 326,557, and in 1818, 329,438, making an increase of 2881 persons. In 1817—2278 foreigners remained at Naples over the first day of January ;—in 1818 only 1081, making a diminution of 1197.

Excluding foreigners, the males amount to 154,192
and the females to - - - - 174,165

The males are, therefore, to the whole population, as 1 to 2, 1-7, and the females as 1 to 2.

The male children born, amount to - - 6,406
and the females to - - - - 6,005

12,411

being 1559 more than in 1817. Of these births, 38 were foreigners—and the proportion of Neapolitan births to foreign ones, is as 1 to 326.

Births were found to be more numerous in August, September, October, November and December ; least numerous in January, February, and March ; one birth in 27 of the whole population, and the female births as 1 to 1 1-15.

In Verona, from 1808 to 1812, the average greatest number of births was in January and December, and the greatest period of conception was therefore May and April. The probability of generating a male

child rather than a female one, was greatest in April, and least in September. But in the country about Verona the greatest births were in March, April, and May, and the greatest conceptions in July, August, and September. The probability of generating a male child was greatest in August and least in October, and the contrary for a female. It does not appear very satisfactory to account for the fact of the greatest conceptions, by saying, that the peasant is better fed in July, August, and September, because he eats in those months at the expense of his master ; he does the same in the month of October, and the births are least in June. How much the other reason may be important, that the peasant is then obliged to remain longer from his family on account of his labours, may perhaps be understood by recollecting, that “in Sparta the laws allowed a husband to visit his wife only by stealth.” It is also of little avail to say, that the heat is greater in those months. If the weather contributed so much, the greatest conception would be expected in the spring. It will be observed, that the greatest diversity exists between Verona and Naples, as to the times of conception and birth, and it would be little consistent with fact or reason to compare the months of January and De-

cember at Naples, in point of temperature, with those of April and May, at Verona.

From the monthly tables of births for Montpellier, I have obtained the following results, the greatest probability of generating an illegitimate male child is in the month of September, and a female one in April. The greatest probability of a legitimate male child is in April, and a legitimate female one in August.

The proportion of births, 1 in 27 at Naples, is greater than in any of the large cities of Europe, births being in London 1 to 23 1-2—in Paris 1 to 30—in Montpellier, in a population of 32,897 the same ratio as at Naples.

Deaths.—Males 6606, and females 6130. Of these, 10573 were Neapolitans, and 2163 foreigners, being in the proportion of 1 to 5. Deaths were more numerous in January, February, March, and December, and least numerous in June, September, October and November, male to female deaths as 1 to 1, 1-32. Deaths to whole population as 1 to 31, 1-16, and deaths to births, as 1 to 1, 1-50. Deaths in private houses 8,442, and in public establishments 4,292. Four males and eleven females died past 100 years; of these, nine were born in Naples, and one was a nun aged 103 years.

DETAIL OF DEATHS.

Under 1 year	{ Males - - 1652	}
	{ Females - - - - 1640	
Under 11 years	{ Males - - 1304	}
	{ Females - - - - 1227	
Under 17 years	{ Males - - 163	}
	{ Females - - - - 150	
Under 25 years	{ Males - - 418	}
	{ Females - - - - 310	
Under 40 years	{ Males - - 859	}
	{ Females - - - - 715	
From 41 upwards	{ Males - - 2210	}
	{ Females - - - - 2082	

The deaths are below the proportion which Dr. Price calculates for moderate sized towns, being as low as one twentieth three-quarters in London, as one nineteenth in Stockholm, in Rome one twenty-third and a half, in 1771—in Amsterdam one twenty-first and a half, and in Montpellier one twenty-ninth and a half, which is about the average of all France. As to the centenaries, according to the calculations of Peuchet, one sixteen-hundredth reaches to between the ages of ninety and one hundred. The universal table of Sussmilch, gives three one-thousandths between ninety and one hundred. Besides the necrology of Montpellier, the only table I have had the advantage of seeing, which gives the proportion beyond one hundred years, is that of Duvillard

for France. This table calculates the fate of ten million individuals from the day of their birth, and of these $1-4834\frac{1}{2}$ passes a hundred years. At the time Duvillard's table was made, the whole movement of the population was in the greatest order and uniformity, but though the births and deaths can be calculated, it is impossible justly to estimate the different degrees of danger, fatigue, comfort, and luxury to which a population will be exposed in different ages, places and seasons, and which will go far to affect the laws of morality. It appears that in Naples one eight-hundred and forty-ninth lived past the age of one hundred years. In Montpellier, upon a statement for twenty-one years, only one in three years reached that age in the annual mortality of one thousand one hundred and twelve and a half individuals. This circumstance, and the calculation already given from Duvillard, makes the Naples report liable to some suspicion. I mean, by suspicion, that individuals were received into the class of centenaries about whose age it is not probable that much accurate information could be obtained. It was sufficient they had reached a great age. Now ninety, or ninety-five, is a great age, and some people may look as old at that age as at a hundred or a hundred and five. This suspicion is, moreover, confirmed by looking again at the list of deaths

at Montpellier; a most remarkable proportion reach a great age; upon twenty-three thousand three hundred and sixty-six deaths in twenty-one years, three thousand one hundred and fifty-five lived beyond the age of seventy. This fact has no authentic parallel in any country in Europe. Comparing this period of life with the same at Naples, it is improbable that a smaller proportion should have reached the one-hundredth year at Montpellier. Another peculiarity in mortality is, that of the fifteen centenaries, reported at Naples, eleven were females; of the seven in twenty-one years, at Montpellier, six were also females. The register of St. Sulpice, before quoted, shows seventeen women, in thirty years, dying past one hundred, and only five men;—also one hundred and twenty-six women and only forty-six men past ninety. Some authors attribute this circumstance to physical causes—to a different organization and a greater disposition to longevity. But the more probable account is, that it comes from moral causes, causes that lead to the destruction of a greater number of males in early age and in the prime of life, and that do not lead women to be exposed to the same dangerous accidents and vices.

In Montpellier the births were most frequent in the month of January, and least so in that of June. The

three autumn months give one quarter more births than the three spring ones. It is difficult to say how much of the difference between Naples and Montpellier in this particular depends upon the influence of the sirocco, more severely felt at Naples nearly in those months, which indicate the least tendency to conception, but this does not correspond with the fact that the deaths are more numerous in January, February, March, and December. The latter circumstance is clearly owing to the violent changes of cold and wet weather, for which the climate of Naples is well known; but it is remarkable that the months of deaths should not correspond more with the months of births, as in catholic countries nearly one fifth of the born die within the first month. This is attributed, in part, to the practice of carrying the infant so soon after its birth, to the baptismal fount, exposing it to colds, &c. This fact is in a good degree confirmed by the circumstance, that the mortality at that age is greater in the country where the baptismal founts are at a greater distance, though this difference may be also affected by the other circumstances, that the accoucheurs are nearer at hand, and more skilful, in the towns than in the country. But the fact is abundantly established by statistical tables relating to Jews, who have not the practice of carrying to a fount in a

cold and distant church, circumcision being practised on the eighth day, and generally in the house of the parent. I mention these facts as very essential to the good condition and proper progress of population. If the early exposing of children is found to be decidedly injurious from the results of authentic and full registers, continued for several years, it behoves all parents to abstain from a similar practice, and it is fortunate that the religious customs of protestants do not interfere with a proceeding so humane.

The deaths at Naples are not most numerous in the months of greatest heat, as would have been expected; the winter months appear to be the fatal ones, and the month of September, so much dreaded in many other countries, is here one of the favoured. In a city so large and confined as Naples, and where the inhabitants are so ill lodged and clothed, the mortality would be most feared precisely in those months in which they would be obliged to live most in the house, and would have least protection against the severity of the weather. In the warm and dry months they live night and day in the open air with less injury to the health. Much of the disease of the inhabitants of warm climates is attributed to the extravagant use of bad fruit, but in Naples the fruit months are precisely the ones of least mortality. It is only

towards the latter end of March that oranges begin to be brought from Sicily; but then they are neither cheap or abundant enough for the lower class. In that month there is no native fruit whatever at all ripe enough for use. In Verona, January, the month of greatest births, is also the month of greatest deaths. These two facts are perfectly consistent. In Verona, and the county of the Adige, the most fatal months are January, February, and December, a farther proof that the mortality is greater in winter. An important result is also obtained from those tables, that sickness and mortality, in the cold months, are greater, in proportion, among women than men.—Benevolent persons and charitable societies may learn from this fact, which sex, in that season, is most deserving of relief.

Marriages.—Two thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, being five hundred and fifty-four more than in 1817. This is to births, as one to four; and to population as one to about 119. In 1817 the marriages being only 2199, the proportion was one in 149; a proportion which does not exist in any city of Europe. The Pays de Vaud (Switzerland) shows a settled proportion of one in 140, the most unfavourable rate known. At Montpellier, the marriages are as one to 117; London as one to 106;

and Paris as one to 123 1-2. An amelioration had evidently begun before 1817, as in 1818 there was an increased number of births of 1559; and the increased number of marriages could not show their effects before the following years. There will, therefore, be a still further augmentation of population in 1819 and 1820. It will also be observed, that a decrease of 1197 foreigners took place. Comparing, therefore, the population of Naples for the single year 1818, with the average state of population of Montpellier for twenty-one years, it appears that at Naples the births were as frequent and the deaths less so—a proof of superior salubrity; but at Montpellier the marriages were more frequent, a proof that those of Naples were more prolific. From the other proportion given, the superior state of health of Naples to most large cities is perfectly apparent; they requiring in general a supply from the country to restore the population. There is also no city north of the Alps where intercourse with the provinces is so limited. The mountains, and heretofore robbers, and a disorderly population, made communication difficult and dangerous. Thirty years ago there was no road from Naples to the eastern side of the kingdom; and at present there is none from Bari, one of the largest towns on that coast, to any town south of it. The

supplies for Naples come either from the terra di Lavoro or by sea.

Foreigners arrived at Naples during 1818, 2585; departed 2194; and remaining on the 31st December 1818, 391. The proportion of thirty-eight births to 2163 deaths, shows, to a certainty, that this population consists of mercantile agents, or those whose residence is not for life, and among whom few are married;—of persons who come for health, and of the various secretaries, attendants and servants attached to the diplomatic body, who seldom can afford or choose to indulge in a wife. It is evident, that a small proportion of these deaths fall upon the foreigners (2585) who came in 1808; for 2194 of them received passports to leave the city.

POPULATION ACCORDING TO AGE.

Under 10 years, -	{ Males	45,795
	{ Females	44,220
From 11 to 17 -	{ Males	18,852
	{ Females	19,057
18 to 20 -	{ Males	18,279
	{ Females	28,587
26 to 40 -	{ Males	30,448
	{ Females	38,894
40 and upwards	{ Males	40,818
	{ Females	43,407

No soldiers are included in this statement. According to the *Catasto, there are 15,000 persons depending upon public charity; 3970 vagabonds; 735 public women; and 1920 children in foundling hospitals.

In 1803, a Catasto, which had its true origin in 1741, was begun by the French government. It will be completed in 1820, but will never be made public. Its real objects are police, conscription and taxation. It will contain an account of every family in the kingdom; parents, children, bachelors, spinsters, ages, occupations, habits of life, residence, property, rents; changes of abode, and all changes and movements whatsoever of the population. If a government is righteous, it is impossible to conceive a more perfect way of obtaining from each individual his fair contribution, both of money and service, to the public weal. I had an opportunity of seeing that part which relates to the city of Naples. The capital is divided into what the Catasto calls islands ("domus vel portus vel insulas veteres dixerunt," Cic.) of

* The Domesday book of King William answers nearly to the meaning of this word, as also the latin word census. "Summa regis solertia ita est ordinata respublica ut omnia patrimonii dignitatis aetatis artium officiorumque discrimina in tabulas referentur. We may properly enough translate this word Domesday book.

about 1000 persons each, and in each division all the smaller divisions are made necessary for containing the above mentioned details.

There are sufficient proofs to show, that 4 3-4 is the average number of children in the families of mechanics and country labourers. This number could allow all Neapolitans of the working classes to receive the privilege of the celebrated *jus trium liberorum*; four children exempting a family from personal services and excise, and entitling it to a larger measure of corn. "*Exprimere, domine, verbis non potest quantum mihi gaudium attuleris quod me dignum putasti jure trium liberorum.* Plin. L. x. c. 2. The whole letter is curious.

My Lady Mary Wortley Montague, reports most favourably of the fecundity of the Turkish women of the higher classes, but it is evident that such accounts are only agreeable fables. Polygamy alone furnishes a sufficient reason to decide the matter. It is known that the men of the classes to which Lady Mary refers, have the habit from twenty-five and thirty years of using the most powerful medicines in order to refresh their constitutions. It is proved also by experience, that Christian families in the same climate have more children than Turkish families, where polygamy is allowed, and it is also proved, that in

Asia more children are born from ten men married to ten women, than from five men married to the same number.

Note.—Having waited in hopes of getting some results of the present census, it has been found necessary to insert in a note a few comparisons of American population, with the statements in the present chapter;—these calculations cannot be relied on with perfect certainty, inasmuch as the population of the towns being known only every ten years, the *basis, upon which the proportion is calculated, must necessarily be imperfect. Deaths in Boston are about 1 in 48 1-3 persons—in New York 1 in 49, and in Portsmouth N. H. 1 in 63 1-2. Deaths past 90 in Boston, an average of four years, 1 in 490—5 in 7 were female—3 past 90 in 110 deaths in Portsmouth, in 1811, one man, two women, one only married. Deaths past 90 in New York, average as above, 1 in 244. In east parish of Rutland, Vermont, no one died past 90, from 1797 to 1816—population in 1810, 1394. In Boston the second greatest period of deaths (under one year being always the greatest) was in 1811 from 20, to 30 years—in 1813, from 30 to 40, and in 1819, from 20 to 30, always greater in proportion upon the males. In New York in 1819, from 20 to 30—in 1818, from 30 to 40—in 1817, from 30 to 40 by an excess of one, and in 1816, from 30 to 40.

The chapter on population, in Seybert's Statistical Annals, contains all the official information known in 1810 about the population of this country, but the census of that year did not descend to the details of married and unmarried, and of the conditions and professions—and the reports of movement of population in towns seldom show more than the number of deaths, ages and diseases. It would be highly important to have

* For basis, see bills of Mortality, published in the *New England Medical Journal*, and "*Report of deaths in the city and county of New York.*"

the number of births, marriages, &c. without which, it is impossible to make any satisfactory calculations of the condition and progress of population. It is matter of much regret, that the truly valuable work, above referred to, should have been published in a form so expensive and unwieldy. No people have more interest than the American in possessing the nicest details about the state of their country, but it serves little purpose to publish them in a vast quarto of eight hundred pages, and costing fourteen dollars.

CHAPTER XV.

LAZZARONI.

—————
 —————“In otia natam
 Parthenopen”—————
 —————

Lazzaroni derived from Laceri by the Spanish pronunciation—others derive it from Lazarus—Lazzaroni have no particular dress—habits of life or appearance—elect no King—in the riot of Masaniello in 1647, and in resistance to General Championnet in 1799, behaved like the populace of all great towns—first ameliorations made in the police of Naples in 1790—great improvements—materials of the populace whence drawn—Lazzaroni grow rich and ennobled—why so superstitious—neighbourhood of Vesuvius, &c.—Maccaroni not the food of the lower class—accounted a regale—cost and manner of making—quantity consumed.

LAZZARONI from Laceri, latin singular, Lacer, laceroni, pronounced lasser, lasseroni by the Spaniards, who change the letter c into s, and the Italians again change the s into z. The Spaniards conquered the kingdom of Naples in 1504 under Gonsalvo of Cordova, named the great captain; and it has been governed by Spanish viceroys and kings, excepting the periods from 1707 to 1734 and 1800 to 1815, to the

present time. They gave this reproachful name to the populace on account of its ragged and wretched appearance. Giannone, in speaking of Masaniello, calls him "lacero" and "seminudo." Modern Neapolitan writers commonly write the word Lazzari.

Others derive the word from Lazarus, the poor man of the New Testament, the Lazzaroni themselves being remarkable for their poverty; but, besides the inconsistency of applying this word to the populace of only one city of Europe, whenever it is used as a figure of speech, it invariably means a leper, a diseased and not a poor person. Hospitals for the reception of those infected with leprosy, of which, in particular, there was one near Jerusalem, dedicated to St. Lazarus, "the beggar full of sores;" and public buildings for the reception of those, who come from countries visited by infectious diseases, are called Lazzerettos.

The Lazzaroni have never worn a particular dress; they have never inhabited a particular quarter of the city; they have never had the practice of appointing a king from one of their own tribe, who received a pension from the government, a circumstance which appears to have been first mentioned by De Saint Non in his voyage Pittoresque; nor do they believe that they are distinguished by a remarkable

origin. All these things are fables. In the last century, the populace of Naples was worthy of notice only for being numerous, miserable, and depraved, circumstances that would readily befall a city where the police suffered almost every description of crime against individuals to pass without punishment, and every description of ruffian or vagabond, whether from the Neapolitan or ecclesiastical states, to find shelter and support; in a climate, too, where a thin shirt and trowsers, the porch of a church, or the staircase of a palace and a few raw turnips, with a little fish, fruit, and iced water, satisfied every want.

It is also matter of romance, that the Lazzaroni have ever exhibited higher or different virtues than have been observed in all people under vehement excitement. In the celebrated rebellion against the Duke of Arcos, in 1647, on account of an excise on fruit and fish, they were far from being filled with indignation at the sight of the head of their leader, Masaniello, stuck upon a stake; but having heard the next day, that the weight of bread had been diminished, they assembled in great fury and carried the body in procession to the church of Del Carmine, where it was deposited with much solemnity. On this occasion the populace of Naples first made itself conspicuous. The second principal occasion was in

January 1799, resisting for sixty-seven hours, the entrance of the French troops under General Championnet into Naples; but a few hours before the final conquest of the city, Michel, called the "pazzo," one of their leaders, on being made prisoner, accepted the rank of captain in the French army, and instantly marched with all the Lazzaroni under his command, to burn and plunder. The detachments of Lazzaroni, in other parts of the city, did not delay to take part in this proceeding. The populace of all great and corrupt cities have shewn, in all ages, passions as violent and inconsistent.

In 1790, the first ameliorations were made in the police and criminal laws of the city of Naples, by establishing a criminal court in each of the twelve quarters of the city. Public whipping was substituted for those misdemeanors before punished with the galleys; transportation to the islands of the kingdom of those guilty of an offence less than a capital crime; also transportation of those who, having suffered a punishment for their offence, had not applied themselves to a trade; of robbers and assassins of the highway and villages, who, under similar circumstances, had been detected in theft, and of all vagabonds who had been imprisoned twice for not having assumed a calling. The streets and houses

were numbered, and an exact register kept of the inhabitants of each house, professions, changes of abode, and every circumstance relating to them. A skilful statesman, Count Louis of Medicis, since celebrated for the delicate and successful negotiation of a concordat with the Papal court, and now minister of finance, was the author of these regulations and intrusted with their execution. Inasmuch as the regulations tended to check emigration from the provinces, a great deal was accomplished for the tranquillity and well being of Naples. Heretofore there had been constant descents from the mountains of the Calabrias, of the Basilicata, even from those of the Abbruzzi, and from the frontiers of the ecclesiastical states. Many of these emigrants, in their own country, were alternately shepherds on the mountains and robbers in the plain; but many others were industrious labourers, who came down from the mountains, either to work in the terra di lavoro, or as has been observed in all countries, to act as porters in the cities of the coast. It was of such materials, then, that the Lazzaroni of Naples were composed, of whom at least one-fourth had fled there to find shelter from punishment, or support from crime. It will not, therefore, be denied that the descent, blood, and morals of such a populace could neither have been remarkably illustrious, pure, or praiseworthy.

These regulations, singularly aided by the merciless draughts made on the population since 1798, for armies of all banners, but more especially those of the French, by causes of which the details have already been related in the chapter on Population, and by maintaining the French system of police, introduced in 1809, have not failed to destroy every remarkable circumstance, either as to numbers or character, mentioned heretofore of the populace of Naples.

The Lazzaroni profess a strong attachment to the present king, whom they call the chief of the Lazzaroni, and I have been told by Neapolitans of no very credulous disposition, that his majesty has been seen eating Maccaroni from a pot in the street, with the true gesture and swallow of a Lazzaroni. The Marquis Verruzio, S. Sinno and il Sorbettiére, and the Counts Vitopinto, Tramontano, with the brothers Altieri, were originally of this class. They became rich and were ennobled.

If this people is noted for superstition above every other ignorant one, it is not to be wondered at, since they live upon a spot where one may witness some of the greatest and most mysterious wonders of the universe. Add to the ordinary operations of nature, which in all ages have driven people to consult oracles and invoke saints, a soil crumbling with heat

and emitting sulphureous fumes—a vast mountain of ashes, sending forth smoke, sulphur, stones, and flames—a wide district of country covered with black lava to the depth of many feet—ancient towns, hidden for more than two thousand years from the eye or knowledge of man, now exhibiting streets, houses, rooms, paintings, fresh and undecayed; and showing, that here at least, neither time or the elements have been able to waste, corrupt, or corrode; and a modern village partly destroyed, and to the present moment partly filled with lava. Above all, the dreadful uncertainty when another river of fire shall burst forth, and what shall stay its progress. In one day a person may see in the environs of Naples, omens and prodigies enough to distract a whole college of soothsayers.

The Lazzaroni, too, have a Saint whose blood liquifies annually for their good, and whose body is brought out upon the occasion of all remarkable eruptions, to set limits to the raging lava and clouds of ashes. The guides who went upon Vesuvius told us, that St. Januarius was master of that mountain, and that all the grumblings and vomitings were the work of his hands.

In a chapter on the Lazzaroni it may seem necessary to say a few words about Maccaroni. A

Neapolitan Punchinello in a puppet show was made a king, but his attendants refused to give him Maccaroni as not being sufficiently delicate for food of royalty, upon which Punch in a great pet declared that he would instantly resign his crown. And so general is now the report of this national taste, that even in some villages of the Morea, children call after Europeans in an insulting tone—"Oh! you poor Italians, who cook your Maccaroni in your hats." Some European nations practise a similar complaisance in their epithets. But notwithstanding these and various other stories of the great pots of Maccaroni seen cooking at the corner of every street in Naples, it is far from being true, that all the lazzaroni can afford to eat it, though the ordinary sort costs but three cents a pound. It is a luxury with which they regale themselves on festivals and Sundays, or when they have gained a few grains more than common. There are even poor people who buy the water in which the Maccaroni is cooked, and content themselves with that and raw carrots, turnips, ice water, and a few of those small fish, that are taken in such abundance in the bay of Naples. Whenever a boatman rows hard, or a coachman drives fast, or whoever toils for a stranger at a great rate, is sure to look at him with great expression, and

cry out "Ah! il bon Maccaroni, questa sera." Pius VI. going to see some granaries erecting near the baths of Dioclesian, and upon which four hundred workmen were employed, was hailed by them at his approach, "Maccaroni, Holy Father." His holiness smiled, and knowing that it was customary to give Maccaroni at the covering of a building, directed twenty crowns worth to be distributed among the workmen. This is some evidence, that Maccaroni is not the universal food of the lowest class of people.

The grain with which Maccaroni is made, comes principally from the Province of Pulia, and some from Sicily and Livadia in Greece. It is small, hard, and more transparent than the common sorts of wheat. After being cleaned with great care and ground, the better sort is passed through eight sieves of different fineness—made into a dough slightly moistened, kneaded about an hour with a bar nine or ten feet long, and upon which I have counted five men working and pressing, and finally, it is forced by a strong screw through small holes in a copper plate, whence it is taken and hung up to dry in the open air. It is evident that such a quantity of labour, bestowed upon a material of so small a price, must add to its value, and make it much dearer than bread. About forty kinds of this paste are made, named from

the shapes in which they are formed, as Fedelini, Vermicelli, Sementelle, Lazagnette, Pater Noster, &c.

The annual consumption of the city of Naples is about three millions five hundred thousand bushels of corn in different shapes, and of this, only about two hundred and sixty thousand bushels are of Macaroni, not more than two thirds of a bushel annually for each person.

CHAPTER XVI.

FINANCES OF THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES.

French made no improvements in Neapolitan finance—all made before—odious monopolies abolished—disgraceful monopoly of tobacco still held by the government—odious custom of Capitano della Grascia—internal custom-houses abolished—uniform rate of duties—duties paid by merchandize in passing through different provinces—in particular grain and cotton—Murat's budget for 1812—ridiculous—Ferdinand's budget for 1811—license for gaming-houses costs 68,000 dollars—remarkable manner in which gaming-houses were established at Venize—what sales of national property not recognized by government—paid 5,000,000 to Austria for restoration—990,000 to Eugene Beauharnois—whole revenue from internal taxation—finances in a prosperous state—wars do little injury to people so rude as the Neapolitans—costs little to recover from the worst—do vast injury to nations of high civilization.

It remains to furnish a hasty account in this chapter of the reform which the Neapolitan government made in its finances before the year 1792. From this account it will appear, that the French have not been the authors of one single improvement of a financial nature in that kingdom. And it will also appear, that though the governments of Piedmont, Genoa, Venice, and Rome, were rapidly approaching to a

perfect bankruptcy at the time abovementioned, the Neapolitan government was making a progress equally sure to an equitable, regular, and productive system of finance. In 1798, the odious excise, called "del minuto," being an excise in all goods manufactured in the kingdom, was abolished. The government has also abolished the farming of Tobacco, but it may well be doubted if the people have gained by the change. The chief manufactory is now at Lecce, in an ancient convent, of which the former Prior is now superindant at twenty-two dollars a month. All growers of tobacco are obliged to sell it to the royal manufactories at stated prices. At Lecce the tobacco in leaf, for which the king pays to the farmer five cents a pound, is sold when manufactured, for fifty. Tobacco worth ten cents in leaf, is sold for a hundred manufactured, but the tobacco, which costs the government fifteen cents, in leaf yields the unrighteous profit of 195 cents. The best tobacco of this kingdom is grown in Terra di Lavoro. The government has also a contract with an American house at Naples, for a large quantity of tobacco annually; and 530,000 pounds are moreover annually received from Macedonia.

The several small monopolies of manna, saffron, brandy, silk, and *jus passaggii* were also abolished,

as well as *jus salmanum*, *jus saccarii*, &c. The same year was abolished the office "del capitano della Grascia di terra de Lavoro e di Abruzzo." This officer bore some resemblance in his duties to the *Praefectus Annonae* of the Romans. The object of the office was to prevent a dearth in the land, or detriment to agriculture by too great an issue of provision, or animals. The powers attached to it were most oppressive and arbitrary. Whoever, for example, rode upon a beast to, or over the frontiers, was obliged to have a certificate from this office, that he had leave so to do, and after a certain interval he was compelled to reappear at the office to show, that he had brought back the beast—all persons who lived within twenty miles of the frontier, were obliged to deliver a statement of all animals of every description in their possession. These persons were visited every four months, and their flocks examined. All deficiency or *superfluity*, which could not be satisfactorily accounted for, was confiscated. A like statement was given annually of vegetables, fruits, &c. and no vegetables or fruits, &c. could be transported without a licence from the Capitano.

These licences cost, besides the time and vexation, fifteen cents; a cart found without a licence was confiscated. This office was exceedingly vexatious, and

produced to the treasury only nine hundred dollars annually.

But these were improvements of slight value, in comparison with the following ones. 1st. All imports and taxes, farmed or alienated, were rebought. 2d. All franchises and privileges, whether of towns or individuals, were made void. 3d. All internal custom houses, except that of Naples, were abolished. 4th. A uniform rate of imposts, both of export and import, was established. These four arrangements diminished the revenue of the government 58,400 dollars the first year. Nothing could be more harassing and impolitic, than the custom houses, established, not only on the foreign frontier, but also upon the frontiers of every province in the kingdom, and most of them exacting a different rate of duty. For example, grain paid 1 3-4 per cent. issued from the custom of Abbruzzo, in that of Pulia, a neighbouring province, it paid 10 per cent. Again, cotton manufactured at Gallipoli, paid at the custom house of Pulia about 32 per cent., and before it arrived at Naples, it paid duties altogether, amounting to 78 per cent., a distance less than three hundred miles. These improvements were, in reality, effected before 1794, though the minister of the interior in a report to the king Joachim, dated April 12, 1812, states that the internal duties were repealed by his majesty.

The following is a statement of the finances for 1812, from the report already quoted, omitting the "grains."

RECEIPTS.

Crown lands and land tax	- -	\$1,175,877
Additional penny upon land tax, patents, and personal property	} -	198,678
Indirect taxes	- - - -	1,129,151
Extraordinary receipts	- - -	437,768
		<hr/> \$2,941,474

EXPENDITURE.

Ordinary expenses	- - -	\$1,266,381
Extraordinary expenses	- - -	935,211
Unexpected ("imprevedute")	- -	437,125
		<hr/> 2,638,717

Leaving a balance in favour of the treasury, of \$302,757.

Details of Neapolitan finance for 1818, omitting the "grains."

Of 7,472,600 ducats, the amount of land tax apportioned for the year 1818, there had been collected, 1st of January 1820.	} \$5,809,457
Proceeds from sale of convent lands and other lands confiscated in time of French,	} 4,017,039

Stamps, Registers, &c.	- - -	1,094,585
*Tavoliere di Puglia	- - -	386,268
Excise on articles of consumption	-	2,825,652
†Dritti Reservati	- - -	1,303,748
Mint	- - -	1,028
Post-horses and postage	- - -	11,060
Lottery	- - -	434,402
Extraordinary taxes	- - -	1,162,810
Additional penny on land tax	- -	227,954
Rent of Vapour baths at Lake Ag-nano, and grotto del Cane	Ag- }	1566
		<hr/> \$17,275,569

EXPENDITURE.

Army	- - -	4,056,000
Navy	- - -	990,000
Administration of provinces, of police, of justice—support of religious, domestic, and foreign relations, &c.	}	9,762,000
Interest of five per cent. on public debt of 23,100,000	}	1,155,000
Expense of collection	- -	1,650,000
		<hr/> \$17,613,000

* Tavoliere di Puglia, is what the government gains upon the sale of grain.

† Dritti Reservati are profits on sale of tobacco, salt, playing cards, and gunpowder. Salt costs about one cent a pound, and is sold all over the kingdom for eleven.

2707 officers
47962 soldiers

50,399

The infantry are paid 8 1-2 cents per day,

Grenadiers “ 10 “ “

Cannoneers and Cavalry 11 1-2 cents per day,

Without including 1 1-2 lb of ammunition bread,

3 ships of line,

5 frigates,

137 smaller vessels.

This statement leaves a balance against the Treasury of 337,431 dollars, and in the mutilated budget, partially made known in 1817, the minister of finance stated that an additional expense of 226,875 dollars had been made for “reasons only known to his Majesty.” In the time of the French, Bayia paid 68,000 dollars for license, and monopoly of gambling houses of the capital. This is not a large sum for that purpose, as those of Paris, yield a *million. He now maintains St. Carlo for the same privilege.

* The Austrians have forbidden all gambling-houses in Lombardy and in the Venetian states. In the early ages of the Venetian republic games of chance were severely prohibited in that capitol; but a Lombard architect, named Barratier, having succeeded in 1173 in raising upon the place of St. Mark, the enormous and magnificent columns of granite, brought from one

The present debt is all that remained at the restoration of the present king, having been reduced by the sales of confiscated lands. The present government has recognized all those sales except five, either received as presents from the French government, or bought at a price so low, as to give evidence of unfair means having been used. In the first case, the government has either taken the land into its own possession, or restored it to its original owners; and in the second, it has compelled the purchasers either to restore the land, or to pay a price equal to the average price of land at the time the forced sale was made.

Since the restoration, the Neapolitan government has paid Austria 5,000,000 dollars. This was in consequence of a secret convention concluded at Vienna, and for which sum Austria undertook to reinstate the king of Naples in his dominions. It has also passed its bonds to Eugene Beauharnois for 990,000. The emperor Alexander, uncle by marriage of that prince, demanded a compensation for

of the islands of the Archipelago fifty years before, the Doge with remarkable indiscretion left the remuneration of this great service to the choice of the architect himself, and he, with a taste equally remarkable, desired that gambling-houses might be built in the interval between the two columns. Daru, vol. I. page 183.

Eugene for the loss of the kingdom of Italy, and for his unfailingly loyal and frank conduct. The congress of Paris agreed to this compensation, and proposed to assign the principalities of Ponte Corvo and Benevento, restored since the peace to the Pope. This proposal was opposed by the English and Neapolitans, as offering a safe refuge and asylum for the French and Neapolitan exiles, and the discontented of all nations. At last, the Congress imposed upon the Neapolitan government the obligation of assuming the burthen of this remuneration, as being one of the governments, that had most profited by the crusade against Napoleon, and had contributed the least share towards its success. This debt was at first guaranteed to Eugene by the Congress itself, as Neapolitan faith was bad in those days, but in 1819 the prince refused an offer of the Neapolitan government to pay the debt at a discount of half per cent. a month.

The whole revenue of this kingdom is drawn from internal taxation, and nearly one third of it from a direct tax on land. Only about one-eleventh of the immense revenue of Great Britain comes directly from commerce; but the collection of the internal part of the revenue has a close connexion with the state of foreign relations. It would be mere mockery to place any reliance upon the French report of 1812.

An expense of only 2,600,000 dollars for a profuse government, magnificent court, and the most splendidly appointed army in all Europe. What, moreover, ought to be thought of a budget, which makes about half of the expenditure consist in extraordinary and unexpected expenses.

✓ Naples is now one of the kingdoms of Europe, in the most prosperous and promising condition. The debt is small, and that country as well as Tuscany, has been less desolated by the French, and subject to less extortion and tyranny than any other Italian state. But it is of main consequence to consider the starvation, poverty, and dependent habits to which the Neapolitan people have been trained. Such considerations will serve to explain a phenomenon, that has often been witnessed in these latter times, viz. the rapidity with which a whole nation recovers from a wasting and devouring war. It requires but two months vegetation in this splendid climate and prolific earth, to fill up the traces of the worst desolation; and five cents suffice to procure the daily food, lodging, and clothes of a labourer. The terrific earthquake of Calabria of '83 burst open plains and valleys, threw down and crushed houses, cattle, and vineyards, and blasted a vast region with endless barrenness. But wars seldom do more than thin one

generation, and destroy one harvest. It is, therefore, among a people of fearless and unceasing industry, driving a vast commerce round the world, possessing a solid and infinite credit, indulging in comforts, accustomed to independence, good education, and enjoyment of society and domestic habits, there it is that wars cause incalculable evil, and breed loud complaints and fierce riots; because, in proportion as civilization is exalted, it is difficult to estimate the injury done to it even by a short disturbing of its progress; but it is nothing to calculate the evil done to a people, who have no habits beyond the absolutely lowest and most niggardly wants of nature.

CHAPTER XVII.

FUNERALS AND MANNER OF BURYING THE DEAD IN ITALY.

Dress of the Corpse—gayest colours—fraternities walk at funerals—very striking—body lies in church twenty-four hours—seven hundred and eighty masses said for repose of soul of queen of Spain—absurd ceremonies—all, who can afford it, buried in churches—Prince Albani buries many poor at his own expense—poor buried naked in common pits, without coffins—condition of those pits—one hundred and twenty-two bodies rotting together—appearance of pit into which a body had just been thrown—men, women, children, altogether—in every stage of putrefaction—torches went out instantly—two thousand four hundred and ninety-seven annually buried in pits, and without coffins, each costs one hundred and sixty-seven cents—singular society called “La Morte,” exact account of their doings—Campo Santo at Naples excellent—a pit for each day of the year—dead infant thrust through a hole under a church.

THE corpse is dressed according to the wealth of the family, and one would think that the day a nun enters a convent, and the day a relative is buried, were distinguished by the most marked gaiety of dress; it is not uncommon to see a grown woman, and the age makes no difference in the costume, dressed in yellow shoes, white silk stockings, purple silk robe, lace

cap, white kid gloves, besides ribbons and jewels, and placed upon a hearse ornamented with the gayest colours; the face uncovered, and generally rouged, and at every unequal step of the bearers the head turning slowly and heavily from one side of the pillow to the other.—The funeral usually takes place an hour after sun-set, later than that is a privilege granted by the police only to persons of consideration. First come long files of those fraternities, of which there are so many in Italy, associated to bury each other, dressed in white, red, or grey dresses, the face masked, and each bearing a lighted torch, followed by rows of Franciscan and Capucin monks, shrouded in their black and dark coloured mantles, the head uncovered, the cowl hanging down upon the shoulders, and the naked foot simply bound by a thick soal of leather. As the procession, made so brilliant and striking by the variety of dresses and numbers of lights, slowly and heavily moves along, the mournful chaunt for the dead, “*requiem aeternam dona eis, domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis,*” faintly and irregularly passes through its long files.—The corpse lies exposed twenty-four hours with the feet towards the altar, and all, who enter the church during that time, are expected to pray for the repose of the soul. The body is then placed in a coarse coffin

and lowered into the tomb, which is, however, not allowed to be near the principal altar.

Burial in the church, or in consecrated burying-grounds, is denied to all Jews, Pagans and schismatics, to all committing suicide, unless they shall give, before death, a sign of repentance, and it is denied to all killed in duels, even though they shall have given this sign—and to those who have not made a confession of their sins once a year and partaken of the sacrament.

The number of masses depends upon the finances of the family. The queen of Spain lay upon a bed of state for three days, during which time seven hundred and eighty masses were said for the repose of her soul. During these days the cook sent to enquire of the chamberlain, what dishes her majesty ordered cooked for dinner, as during her life. The coachman, at what hour her majesty would ride, and the hair-dresser, at what hour her majesty would be dressed. At the appointed hour the dinner was cooked—the horses were harnessed—and the friseur came. Then the chamberlain answered that her majesty did not choose to dine—to ride—or be dressed at that hour. So much for Spanish ceremonies!

All persons, who can afford it, are buried in coffins, in the vaults. These vaults are about ten feet

square, and seven deep, and they are opened by means of a flat stone in the church itself. In the hot months, in those churches where the vaults are old and badly secured, and where burials are frequent, the stench is sometimes so great that the service is omitted. This is particularly true of the church della Madonna, in the Piazza del Popolo, owned by Prince Albani, and redeemed three times by him from the French for twelve thousand dollars. This prince indulges in the extraordinary charity of sending for the dead poor, and burying them in this church at his own expense. There are one hundred and seventy-one churches in Rome allowed to receive the dead, so that while the population continues in its present state, sufficient room will always be found in the vaults for all who can afford to be buried there.

The poor, and all who die in charitable establishments, are thrown into pits, naked and without coffins. I went to see three pits in a small cloister behind the church of the hospital, at the head of the Corso, near the Piazza del Popolo—the most crowded and populous street of all Rome. This was on the second of January, one of the coldest days, with the clearest atmosphere, during the whole year. Nevertheless, when the flat stones, that covered the pit, just fourteen inches square, were removed, the putrid

vapour arose so instantaneously, and in such thick fumes, that even the attendants moved towards the door of the cloister, till the first and most pestiferous exhalations should have passed. In the first pit there had been no deposits since the French revolution, and it then contained only a small quantity of bones—green, moist, and mostly decayed. In the second, in which there had been no burials for seven months, there was a great mass of putrid flesh, but not a body or limb, or any form or shape whatever, could be discerned. An accumulation of one hundred and twenty-two bodies, rotting, ulcerated, marked with white-blueish spots and streaks of black. As the putrid air gradually escaped, a faint sound could be heard, and the mass of corruption was observed to sink down deeper in the pit. In the last pit they were then burying, and a wretched, emaciated body, that had been thrown in that morning, was lying across the pile with the top of its head cut off by the surgeons, and the eye-lids hanging back in a frightful manner—the hard shrunk leg of a ghastly object was slowly pressing into a swollen and inflamed body, just ready to burst—long black hair, clotted and moistened by putrid oozings, still clung to wasted skulls, where the eyes had fallen out, and the lips had shrunk away from the teeth. Some bodies had slid down to the bottom

of the pit, and near the top there appeared the legs and feet of a body still sweating and swelling with decay. There were men, women and children, and as the mass rotted and consumed, they sunk and mixed together—a deadly yellow colour, and a thick dirty sweat seemed to pervade and spread itself over the whole heap—a cold, sluggish oozing mingled with the slow, silent progress of putrefaction.—I saw no living creature in this vault, neither worm, rat, or taratula. A large torch, burning with a full blaze, expired instantly, three times, on being put into the mouth of the pit.

The largest hospital in Rome is the Santo Spirito, and it has 136 pits dug on the top of a hill, a quarter of a mile from the city. There are 36 pits belonging to the hospital of St. John.—From the beginning of this century to the end of the year 1818, there have died in Rome, in charitable establishments, a yearly average of 2130 persons—to these add 817 persons dying in houses, but buried at the public expense, making annually 2947 individuals buried in pits and without coffins.—Each burial cost one dollar and sixty cents, for transportation, wax lights and the mass—circumstances never neglected, though the body itself should be dragged to the pit with hooks and thrown upon the pile as if it was carrion. Such is christian burial !

I shall give a detailed account for one year of the proceedings of the Society called, "La Morte," composed of charitable individuals, who collect all persons killed or found dead, not having the means of paying the expenses of a funeral, and throw them into a large vault opening into their church, nearly in the centre of Rome. I had an opportunity of seeing this vault opened just after the noon service, when several persons still remained in the church. The weather was cold, and as no one had been thrown there for several days, the stench was not very great. The last person was a peasant, who had been found dead in a field; he was lying with all his clothes on in the midst of bones, skulls, and partly consumed. This church stands upon the banks of the Tyber, and it is said that water rats in the warm months devour nearly all the flesh of those buried in its vaults.

LIST FROM THE SOCIETY CALLED LA MORTE.

1818

November.	10 Men	}	9 died in Rome—5 buried "per Amor di Dio."*
	2 Women		
	2 Infants		
	14—		5 died in the country.
December.	5 Men	}	5 " " Rome—1 " "
	1 Boy		
	6—		1 " " the country.

* Amor di dio" means, throwing into a hole with other dead bodies.

February.	15 Men	}	21 died in Rome—10 buried "per Amor di Dio."
	13 Women		
	1 Boy		
	29—		8 " " the country.
March and April.	17 Men	}	12 " " Rome—4 " "
	8 Women		
	1 Boy		
	26—		4 " " the country.
May and June.	12 Men	}	14 " " Rome—3 " "
	5 Women		
	17—		3 " " the country.
July and August.	13 Men	}	13 " " Rome—5 " "
	4 Women		
	17—		5 " " the country.
Sept. and October.	12 Men	}	15 " " Rome—3 " "
	5 Women		
	17—		2 " " the country.
	116		29 dead in the country—87 in Rome.

" Sono pregate recitare cinque Pater e Ave per le loro anime, specialmente per Quella de Rinaldo Lancia."

22 killed or died on the spot.

4 drowned.

One morning, at Naples, I saw a man take an infant, still bloody and apparently just dead, from a cloth, and thrust it naked through a small hole under the front step of a church. The infant fell into a basket, and was conveyed the same night to the Campo Santo. This was seen by many persons, some of whom crossed themselves and recited the Pater Noster. The Campo Santo is two miles from the city, built upon a hill, and enjoying the freshest

and purest air; it is a large, square, clean place, to which a chapel is attached for the priests. There are 365 pits, eighteen feet deep and twelve square, well covered: there are also four pits, in particular, appropriated to children; one of the 365 pits is opened every night, and the next morning sealed down again till the annual return. Fifteen persons are buried here on an average every night. It receives the poor and the dead of all charitable establishments. If a people should be forced to the necessity of burying in the manner described in this chapter, the Campo Santo of Naples and that of Florence are contrived in the safest and most wholesome way, and from their situation possess every advantage of a constant change of fresh air. The French prepared a place for a burying ground, which they were about to construct in the ancient gardens of Sallust. On the side of that hill, the best vegetables are now raised for the Roman market.

In these accounts there is neither fiction or exaggeration. I have put down the names of the places I have spoken of in this chapter. Some of those who have been in Italy, may possibly already have seen the same or similar spectacles; and those who shall go there hereafter, and shall choose to indulge such a curiosity, will have it in their power to go and examine, on the spot, into the accuracy of these details.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HOSPITALS AND POOR-HOUSES OF NAPLES.

"*Lac pueris, dotem innuptis, velumque pudicis
Datque medelam aegris haec opulenta domus.
Hinc merito sacra est illi, quae nupta, pudica,
Et lactans orbis vera medela fuit.*"

Inscription over the door of Hos. della Annunziata of Naples.

Paupers and vagabonds in Naples—compared with those in Paris and with vagrants in London—Charitable establishments better administered in France—rates of ages of poor—conditions—widows most numerous—women run a greater risk in being married than men—porters, day-labourers, &c. most numerous class of poor—second class, strolling sellers of fruit and vegetables—pay 420 per cent. a year for their capital—third indigent class, are shoemakers, &c.—fourth, menders of old clothes, &c.—fifth, sempstresses—least numerous, jewelers, booksellers, and those who supply the rich—decayed gentlemen—decayed scholars—expense and food of each individual in poor-house and hospital—calculations of Count Rumford about potatoes and Indian meal—singular ration of Russian physicians in army hospital.

ACCORDING to the Catasto, there existed on the first day of January, 1819, in all the buildings of public

charity and *conservatories of the city, 14,600 individuals. Vagabonds in the city, 3,970

18,570

In †1813, 102,806 persons in want of assistance were calculated to exist at Paris; of these, nearly 40,000 came from provincial departments, a number by no means astonishing, if one considers that by the time a labourer arrives at Paris, the expenses of his journey must have absorbed the greater part of his money; that the difficulties of getting work in a strange place will always be greater; that the expense of living is increased; that the temptations to debauchery are numerous; and that many of those unhappy persons are indebted for indigence and disease, to sharpers and bad women. All these matters raise the rate of insurance of all such undertakings, and, in proportion to the pleasure or chance of profit in a capital, will this rate be greater or less. According to a report made by Mr. Martin, in 1805, to the Secretary of State, of 15,238 vagrants in Lon-

* Conservatory is a place where poor children are received and educated; or where young girls are received upon paying a certain sum; and when they are married, they have a small dower; one of the classes in the poor house, is of women unable to live with their husbands.—“mal maritate.”—

† Rapport au Conseil general des Hospices, &c.

don, 8595 were from the country, and 5310 from Ireland. The French report goes to mention among the indigent, 119 Americans; but this probably not only comprehends all South America, but the French colonies of the West Indies. The report further states, that there remained in the public charities on the thirty-first day of December 1814, 12,594 persons; a result compared with the state of the Neapolitan charities for 1818, by no means remarkable. The two last disastrous campaigns of the Emperor had just finished, and they could not have failed to diminish the poor in France. The charities, moreover, are better administered in Paris than in Naples, and they are vastly more numerous in the provinces. I know of no department in France, that does not possess from 10 to 16,000 dollars in funds for charitable institutions, besides the annual appropriations of the departments, and the regular establishments of poor-houses and hospitals. It is also important to remark, that the poor of Naples, living nearer upon the limit of what is just sufficient to support life, are thrown upon public charities in greater numbers by a sudden derangement.

From an examination of all the facts which I succeeded in obtaining, the following results may be established. It is proper to say, however, that these

facts were not of sufficient number or accuracy to lead to certain and general conclusions.

1. Proportion of indigent persons in Naples, at the following ages.

1-3d	below 10 years	} These rates of ages apply to all persons, who stand in need of charity, whether from sickness or poverty.
1-8th	" 20 "	
1-12th	" 30 "	
1-11th	" 40 "	
1-10th	" 60 "	
1-14 $\frac{1}{2}$	" 70 "	
1-17 $\frac{1}{2}$	" 80 "	
1-50th	" 90 "	

From this table it appears, that about half of the indigent are below 20, and above 60 years, and that the ages from 20 to 60, when men and women are most capable of working, are more exempted, but it is important to remark, that by far the greater part of the children, that is, the population under 10 years, who depend upon public aid, belong to the classes from 20 to 60 years.

2.	1 8 1-2 are married men	} Condition of adult indigents.
	1 7 1-2 " married women	
	1-16th " widowers	
	1-7th " widows	
	1-20th " batchelors	
	1-21 " maiden women	

It appears that widows are by far the greatest object of charity. This the poor have themselves discovered, for, indeed, whoever has had much inter-

course with the poor, will have observed that the women, who come to beg, usually report themselves widows encumbered with children. It moreover appears, and the circumstance is a very important one, that a poor woman about to be married runs a greater risk, more than from 1 to 2 1-2, of being reduced to indigence, than a poor man marrying under similar circumstances. It is even more than 2 1-2, for there are 1, 7 1-2 of indigent married women, and only 1, 8 1-2 of indigent married men. It appears, however, and it is an encouragement to matrimony, that the proportion of indigent married men and women, compared to indigent batchelors and maids, is not beyond the average number of persons marrying in the poor classes.

3. The indigent classes, according to their occupations, show that the most numerous order consists of porters, day labourers, both men and women, and all persons working at jobs. The employment is uncertain, and requiring neither time to learn nor capital to exercise, is easily overstocked. Persons, coming from the country and knowing no trade, place themselves at the corners of the streets, or places of business, in order to seek for jobs and errands.

4. The second numerous class is of strolling pedlars, particularly sellers of fruits and vegetables, either

carrying a basket or driving a jack-ass. Stock is liable to rapid decay—sale uncertain, much affected by extremes of weather, great heats or great rains. Such persons are forced to pay from eight to nine per cent. a week to the wholesale dealer, who trusts them, or they hire the money at the same rate from the pawnbrokers. This comes to about 420 per cent. a year, and there can be no better proof, that the borrowers are poor, than that the lenders never get rich—one quarter more women than men in this class, who are for the most part mothers of families, and it is rare to see them without one or more children.

5. The indigent of other trades are about in proportion of the number wanted by the poor classes to supply them, for example, the indigent shoemakers are one third more numerous than any other manufacturer for the poor. It cannot be doubted that the article of greatest consumption for towns, where there are paved streets, is shoes. On the contrary, indigent bootmakers are one of the least numerous classes. They work for the more independent classes, who can generally pay them.

6. This evil falls next heaviest upon women, who spin, mend old clothes, knit, darn old stockings, and other sedentary work at home. These women are chiefly prevented by children, from doing work

abroad. As this class is very numerous, and as they can engage in few occupations, they undertake this work for a small recompense. Besides, they work in general for very poor people.

7. Another numerous class is of sempstresses, for the most part, girls from the country. It is this ill fated class that furnishes the greater part of the annual reinforcement of depraved and wretched women of great cities. A great deal of that sort of corruption can be traced to milliners, mantua-makers, and all women who hire girls to do work. As many persons in great European towns, pretend to exercise those trades, for the sake of ensnaring the young and ignorant, it would but tend to increase the price of the commodity in which they really deal, if a tax was imposed upon every girl working in a mantua-maker's or milliner's shop. Government cannot extirpate the passions of men, but it does well to make them pay as dear as possible for their gratification.

8. The trades, in which the smallest number of indigent appear, are those that principally supply the rich, or that require some capital or education, such as jewellers, watch-makers, booksellers, hat-makers, &c. or those that supply the daily wants of the community, such as butchers, bakers, &c. These traders sell articles of necessity with which the poor can-

not dispense, as with a hat or a boot, and the necessity returns every day.

9. There is to be found, moreover, among the indigent of Naples, about four decayed gentlemen, and eleven decayed schoolmasters, professors and literary men. Under literary men I include all who write for journals or newspapers. Grub-Street alone would formerly have furnished a greater number of decayed savants. Indeed, one wants few better proofs of the low ebb to which literature and learning have fallen in this capital. The cost of all the foreign books annually brought into Naples is only 35,000 dollars.

Expenses in Hospitals.—The absolute expenses of each patient for medicine, medical and other attendance, food, &c. beds, bed linen, &c. is about thirty cents a day—that is, comparing the rate of expenses of one with another, and the period passed in the hospital, extended to persons of all ages, sexes, and conditions. The period passed in hospitals appears to be on an average from thirty-two to thirty-seven days. In this statement no account whatever is made of what may be called the stock of the hospital, such as mattresses, bedsteads, &c. The charge of beds and bed linen, relates only to washing or cleaning them. The mean mortality was nearly one in seven. The deaths of men and women were near-

ly equal, but the deaths of girls have been more numerous than those of boys.

Poor-Houses.—The absolute expenses, under circumstances similar to the hospitals, have been about seventeen cents a day. The mortality on men and women is greater than in hospitals, as the subjects are more advanced in age.

Food.—By decree of 1809, the following ration was established in hospitals, subject to such variations, as the condition of the patient might make it necessary for the physician to prescribe.

MORNING FOR DINNER.	EVENING FOR SUPPER.
3 1-2 oz. of Flesh,	1 3-4 oz. of White Maccaroni,
7 oz. of Bread,	3 1 4 oz. of Bread,
1 3-4 oz. Soup, of white Maccaroni,	1 gill of Wine.
1 1-2 gill of Wine, of country.	

This is the ration of adult subjects. On days of lent the flesh is omitted. Count Rumford shows, in his curious calculations upon the food of the poor at Munich, that one third of the expense was saved in their portions by the use of potatoes. The climate of this kingdom is perhaps unfavourable to this vegetable, but it has been successfully raised in Tuscany and Lombardy. Too much cannot be said or done to spread the cultivation of this root, though from the progress it has already made, more particularly in

France, it seems to require no aid, either from farmers or statesmen. It is not extravagant to say, that the use of the potatoe will add one tenth to the population of Europe, and that one tenth of the usual wants and famines will be prevented by it. Count Rumford also thinks, that the most nourishing grain is Indian corn, and makes a statement to show that in America, a pudding made of this meal and molasses, and weighing ten pounds, would only cost two cents a pound. Indian corn is raised in great abundance in the south of Italy, and is much used by the people as an article of food.

* The following is the diet prescribed to Russian soldiers, by the physicians of their army, in the Paris hospitals in 1814. It is curious, as differing so much from the practice of hospitals in other countries.

MORNING PORTION.	EVENING PORTION.
1 lb. Ammunition Bread,	6 oz. Meat,
2 Soups,	Vegetables as in morning,
2-5ths of a pint dry Vegetables,	† 50 decilitres of Wine,
or 3 oz. of Rice,	1-10th pint of Brandy.
1-2 pint of Wine,	
1-10th pint of Brandy,	
1 10th pint of Vinegar,	
12 oz. Meat.	

* *Compte rendu des Hospitiaux, &c.* 1815—page 34.

† This appears to be a misprint, as a decilitre is the tenth of a pint.

The brandy was given in the morning and at two o'clock, whatever was the wound or the malady. The patients expected that hour with great impatience. The common drink was vinegar and water. The Russians detest those thin drinks, known in France under the name of "tisannes." The soup and vegetables were administered very thick. They make great use of vapour baths. The mortality was one in sixteen.

CHAPTER XIX.

PRISONS AND CRIMES IN THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES.

Regulations of Prisons—food of Prisons on board English hulks, and in State Prisons of Charlestown and New-York—American diet almost double that of Naples—number of prisoners in all Neapolitan prisons, galley slaves, &c—causes, jealousy, &c. homicides diminished—whether peace or war is least favourable to virtue of lower classes—commitments in England, &c.—homicides much below those of Naples—peace and war had no peculiar effects upon executions in the city of London.

FROM the decree of June 29, 1809, I extract the following particulars relating to the management of prisons.

1. The floors shall be washed every fifteen days, and the prison fumigated with nitre acid. The prison shall be white washed every six months.
2. All prisoners shall be obliged to shave the head and the beard at least once a week.
3. Bed linen shall be changed every eight weeks.
4. There shall be delivered each prisoner every morning at eleven o'clock, a loaf of good bread, of 16 1-2 ounces.

ON SUNDAY AND THURSDAY.

- 4 1-2 ounces of white Maccaroni,
- 1-2 “ “ grease,
- 1-5 “ “ salt, pepper, &c

TUESDAY AND FRIDAY.

- 5 ounces of small beans,
- 1-5 “ “ oil,
- 1-5 “ “ salt.

MONDAY, WEDNESDAY AND SATURDAY.

- 5 ounces of French beans,
- 1-5 “ “ oil,
- 1-5 “ “ salt.

It is left to the will of the chaplain to signalize his zeal “in saving the souls of the prisoners.”

The congregation, established to collect alms for poor prisoners, shall be encouraged in all the provinces.

Diet on board one of the hulks in Portsmouth harbour, England.

Each mess of six men, allowed 8 pounds of bread and 9 pints of small beer a day.

Breakfast.—1 pound 5 ounces barley, and 5 ounces oatmeal, made into soup or burgou.

Dinner.—4 days in the week, 6 pounds of beef,
3 “ “ “ 3 “ cheese.

Supper.—On the four meat days, 12 ounces barley, 5 ounces oatmeal made into soup or burgou.

On cheese days, 1 pound 6 ounces oatmeal made into soup.

This diet and the American, one which I shall shortly mention, are good proofs of the different qualities and kind of food which public institutions both in America and England are obliged to give, owing to the different habits of the people.

In all the Prisons of* Great Britain, there are only two, three or four instances, where a felon is allowed eight, and even nine pence sterling a day; some are allowed six, but the average sum is four pence and less. This in Great Britain would not give a better diet than the Neapolitan one above quoted. In order to illustrate the scantiness of the Neapolitan ration, compared with notions that prevail on this subject in this country, I shall set down the diet of the State Prisons in Charlestown and New-York.

CHARLESTOWN, DAILY ALLOWANCE PER MAN.

Tuesday	} <i>Breakfast and Supper.</i> —Three gills of Indian meal, made into hasty pudding or half a pound of coarse bread, and half a gill of molasses, or two gills of milk. <i>Dinner.</i> —Fourteen ounces coarse meat or offal made into soup, half pint of potatoes and half pound coarse bread.
Thursday	
Saturday	
Sunday	

* See the curious work of Neild on Prisons, 1812, 4to.

Wednesday } *Breakfast and Supper.*—As above.
Dinner.—Beef soup and half pound coarse bread.

Monday } *Breakfast and Supper.*—As above.
Friday } *Dinner.*—Half pound of salted fish, one ounce butter or hogs lard, half pound coarse bread, and a pint of potatoes.

NEW-YORK.

Half pound Cod-fish,	} Weekly allowance per man.
Half " Mess Pork,	
One " coarse fresh Beef five times a week,	
One " rye flour daily of good quality,	
Six oz. Indian Meal,	
Half gill Molasses,	

To this add eighteen ounces cocoa shells, for every hundred rations.

3 pecks of Potatoes, for every hundred rations,	
4 quarts of Salt	" "
12 ounces of Pepper	" "
12 quarts of Beans	" "
1 gallon of Vinegar	" "

At Charlestown, beer is allowed at the discretion of the warden.

The American breakfast and supper are nearly equal alone to the daily diet of a Neapolitan felon—who is equally obliged to work, who never tastes flesh or fish, and who has but two meals cooked a day, viz. at 12 o'clock and at sunset. Mr. Howard visited the prisons at Naples in 1773; he briefly mentions them without any comments, page 117, 4 vol. in 4to. edition of 1793; speaking of diet, there is a curious account at the end of the above quoted volume of the rations allowed the prisoners in the Bastile.

The number of prisoners in all prisons, forts, and receptacles for galley slaves, on the 31st day of December 1818, was 2567, for the whole kingdom, or between five and six in every 1000 of the population. The year ending the same day, twenty-six homicides had been committed in the city of Naples, and 678 in others parts of the kingdom. Two thirds arose from quarrels, caused by wine chiefly on festival days, and the remainder from jealousy, or thefts, accompanied with murder. The provinces on the frontiers of the ecclesiastical states, of Salerno, and the Capitanata, most abounded in homicides. In hither Calabria, most premeditated murders were observed. Homicides have decreased since the end of the last century, when they amounted to forty for Naples, and nine hundred and fifty for other parts of the kingdom. This is attributed equally to the excellence of the police, and the severity of the laws. A Neapolitan is condemned to the galleys for life, in whose possession is found a knife, which does not shut, with a blade more than three inches long. As most of these homicides are committed in consequence of sudden passion, and as the Italians have a remarkable dexterity in drawing a dagger and giving wounds, it will operate as a preventive of this crime, to force upon the people the habit of only

carrying knives that shut into a handle. A Neapolitan is condemned for two years to the galleys, upon whom a stone is found weighing two pounds. This law was made to check the singular and fatal practice of inflicting wounds, often mortal, by throwing or striking with a stone.

The number of persons remaining in prison at the end of this year is probably much beyond the average number of coming years, when the excellent criminal and civil codes, and the excellent provisions for domestic police and the administration of public justice, already organized and established, shall have had their full and entire effect. This kingdom has not failed to suffer its full portion of the grievous changes of the last twenty years. Indeed, according to the experience of the last century, it would be difficult to say what sort of change the European governments had most to dread, that which sent the vile and depraved part of the population to combat, and perish in foreign wars, or that which brought back the same population to suffer, starve, and die in hospitals, poor-houses, and prisons. In war they maintain soldiers; in peace, they maintain paupers and convicts, together with a large number of spies and gens d'armes to watch and guard, in order to prevent them from plundering and murdering. This king-

dom has, moreover, been sorely afflicted by violent civil commotions, of which an account will be given in the chapter on Banditti.

The commitments in England and Wales, upon a population of 8,872,980 in the year 1805, amounted to 4605—of these, 56 were for manslaughter, and 53 for murder, including 27 women for infanticide—of the above 4605, 350 were sentenced to death, and 68 executed, 591 transported, 1680 imprisoned, 105 whipped, and 53 sent to the army, making 2783 persons punished in 1805, 1092 acquitted, and 730 were discharged. This is the statement of annual crimes of a country, in which the greatest number of crimes are committed in proportion to the population of any country north of the Alps. Four years of crime in the city of Naples equal to 1818, would produce nearly as great a number of homicides, as there were *commitments* for in all England and Wales in 1805.

Note.—It is but fair to state in reference to a remark in this chapter, that according to a table of the number of criminals (1788) executed in the city of London and county of Middlesex, from 1749 to 1806 inclusive, it does not appear that the number of capital offences depends “even principally” upon the operations of peace or war. *Nield*, p. 635.

CHAPTER XX.

JEWS IN ITALY.

Hierosolyma est perdita.

Old cry of persecution against the Jews, pronounced Hep.

Jews no longer in “fashion”—much persecuted in England—in Sicily—obliged to wear red, yellow patches, &c.—confined in Ghettos—now only known in Rome—Jews in poor condition there—exiled from Naples—numerous and well treated in Tuscany—rich—hold land—entitled to fill all offices—their sabbath respected by civil authorities—but not allowed to marry with Catholics—112 families in Genoa—5600 Jews in Lombardy—2500 Jews in Venice—have many privileges—very charitable to their own poor—practise the law, and many are known as excellent physicians—laws of Turin relating to the Jews—disgraceful exactions and disabilities to which they were subject—Sanhedrim of Paris of 1806—great doctrines to inculcate—marry with christians, pay taxes and become conscripts—Jews do not increase in Italy—reasons—and reasons why they increase so much in other countries—regiment of Jew Cossacks, called Israelowski—description of Jews.

* “**T**HE Jews have never been in fashion since God abandoned them. It is on this account that the

* Œuvres du P. de Ligne. Vol. I. p. 47.

christians have never employed themselves in their behalf." But it is not to be expected, that arbitrary princes, in want of money, will ever scruple to take advantage of the prejudices of their subjects. The catholics, in all countries, during the reformation, the Jesuits, particularly in Spain, and the clergy, every where towards the close of the last century, where the French had sway, have been persecuted, plundered, exiled and crucified, for the glory of God, the freedom of the state, and the profit of the prince. What the Jews have suffered in England, is a good sample of the tyranny exercised against them in other countries. Henry III. tore out their teeth, threatened to hang every Jew in the kingdom; in 1143, laid a tallage upon them to the amount of the whole yearly income of the crown, and at last sold them to his brother, the earl of Cornwall, "ut quos rex excoriat, comes evisceraret."

One of the first sumptuary laws concerning them, was issued by Frederic II. in 1215, directing that their dress should be different from that of christians. *In Sicily, where they were formerly very numerous, they were ordered to wear a round patch of red cloth

† See a curious work in quarto, called "l'Ebraismo della Sicilia da Giovanni di Giovanni." p. 34. Palermo, 1748.

(rotella rossa) upon the breast. *In Venice they wore a small scarlet cap; and in Rome, in 1654, they wore a similar shaped cap of yellow. Paul IV. confined the Jews to a quarter of Rome, on the left bank of the Tyber, near the theatre of Marcellus, where they still live; this quarter was called †Ghetto. It is separated by walls, and five gates from the other parts of the city; every night, about an hour after sunset, these gates are shut by the guard of the city, and not opened again till next morning at sunrise. During the French times, a perfect liberty of residence was allowed the Jews; but since the restoration, they have been driven back to their ancient limits, enjoying only the small privilege of keeping shops within 200 yards of the gates of the Ghetto.

These Ghettos are now only known in Rome, though in the other cities of Italy the Jews, for the most part, continue to hire in a particular quarter, either from habit or of their own accord. Their number in Rome is about 4500; it cannot be ascer-

* Sprenger, Roma Nova.

† "Ghet" among the Jews, is the name of the act of divorce when they repudiate their wives, founded upon this verse of Deuteronomy (chap. xxiv. v. 1.) "Then let him write a bill of divorcement and give it into her hand, and send her out of his house."—*Vid. Art. Ghet in French Encyclopedia.*

tained exactly, as there is no return of this population; and owing to their habits of life, and the size of their families, the common methods of calculation do not apply to them. They are poor, degraded, reviled, and scoffed at, by the christians, who call them "someri," (asses) while the Turks in their turn call the christians, "dogs." Nevertheless, the government protects them from insult and injury, though it compels them to live in a filthy and unwholesome part of the city, and denies them the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. The Jews in Rome are in great poverty, the richest among them keeping only a small shop for the sale of cloth and grain. It is said, that since the occupation, the Jews have departed much from the Talmudic institutions and the rigid customs of their tribe.

*"Nil practer nubes et coeli numen adorant,
Nec distare putant humana carne suillam."*

Now it is not uncommon to see them eating with christians, swallowing pork with as little scruple as the Jew in Miss Burney's masquerade, and paying little attention to the manner or the vessels in which it is cooked.

All Jews were exiled from Naples about forty years since. In Tuscany there are 18,000. They

have increased much in property and numbers, since the reformation of Leopold, about the middle of the last century; but being permitted by the French to hold land, many rich merchants have abandoned commerce to become owners of estates.

The present government has removed all the exactions, and most of the disabilities to which they were subject; they are now entitled to fill all offices, whether civil or military; but by custom they are in reality in possession only of those to which no salary is affixed. They cannot take any part in judicial proceedings, being forbidden by their religion to swear in the name of the "holy sacrament." Their sabbath is respected by the civil authorities; and they are not obliged on that day to accept bills of exchange, discount money at their banks, or perform any commercial operation whatsoever. On the contrary, they are not allowed by the government to marry with catholics, though by the third question of the Sanhedrim of Paris, the Rabbins decided, that the Jews by their own institutions were not forbidden to inter-marry with christians. There are two Jewish houses at Florence worth each 250,000 dollars, and four worth 80,000.

There are only one hundred and thirteen families in Genoa; they are all engaged in commerce, though

much fallen within a century. They have a right of living in any part of the city, and are not restrained in any privilege but that of filling places of public trust. The house of Montano has been established twenty years, and has acquired much respectability. The house of Seruzi, formerly rich, is now much reduced.

In Lombardy the whole number of Jews is only five thousand six hundred; they are chiefly collected at Mantua, not oppressed by any peculiar exactions or disabilities, but, with a few exceptions, beset with great poverty, and the contempt of the people. Leopold, in 1791, allowed Jews to be qualified as advocates in Lombardy, and plead the causes of Christians and Jews alike.

In the Venetian States the Jews possess more importance; in Venize they amount to two thousand five hundred, and are dispersed in every part of the town. They enjoy every civil rights as to protection of person and property, but are excluded from all municipal offices. The Austrians forbid the marriage of Catholics with individuals of all other creeds. The principal house is that of Treves, said to possess a fortune of one million eight hundred thousand dollars. The chief of this house has retained, under the change of government, his title and dignity of

knight commandant of the iron crown, baron and vice-president of the chamber of commerce of Venize. The Jews of Venize are said to be remarkable for charity to the poor of their own sect, and for attention to the education of their children. They have established a public school for the instruction of the Jewish poor.—There are five Jewish physicians in practise at Venize, all of whom have graduated at the university of Padua, and some of whom have reputation even among the christians. There is also an advocate and several solicitors. Other Jews have purchased country estates, and occupy themselves solely with agriculture. At Padua there are seven hundred Jews, many of them respectable,—a surgeon and three physicians. One of them is held in great reputation throughout the whole town. At Verona, eight hundred Jews,—one is the principal physician and president of the college of medicine. At Roverigo, three hundred, and a few in some smaller towns. Jews may now apply themselves to medicine for the same reason that Jews could once find no occupation but in commerce. It is not a trust, held under the direction of the state, for the good of the public.

I shall make an extract from the *Leggi e Costituzioni di Sua Maesta* (vol. 1, tit. 8, Turin 1770,) in order to show the tyranny exercised against the Jews

in many parts of Italy before the revolution. "There shall be a quarter of Jews in every town—they shall not be allowed to leave that quarter from the setting to the rising of the sun, except in cases of great fires or unexampled danger—they are allowed to build no new synagogues—they are ordered to exercise their rites with a low and modest voice—they are forbidden to purchase real estate—they are ordered to wear upon their breasts, when they shall have reached the age of fourteen, a small patch of yellow silk—they are forbidden to take any article on pawn from an unknown person, or when the price proposed is greatly below the value of the article—they are commanded to give an account every month to the clerk of the court of all their transactions. Any Jew rash enough to utter a word reproachful to the christian religion, shall be punished with death—they are forbidden to leave their quarter during the festival of the passion of our Saviour, or to dance, sing, or indulge in any gaiety or amusement whatsoever. *All persons are forbidden killing, wounding or insulting a Jew—breaking their windows—throwing over their tombs, &c.* A person, converted from judaism, shall receive from his family the same portion that he would have received, had he continued in his faith, and at the time of the communion, an inventory shall be taken of the effects of the family, so that the just portion may be obtained. It

is forbidden to all christians to pass a night in a Jews house, &c. &c."

At the time of calling the great Sanhedrim in 1806 at Paris, the Jews doubtless believed that the Messiah was soon about to appear, but by a decree of the French emperor, published the 10th of December, of the same year, it seems that the government itself had different expectations. It enjoined the rabbis to inculcate the doctrines recognized by the Sanhedrim, viz. that the Jews should marry with christians, pay taxes, and become conscripts—especially to cause the military service to be considered as a sacred duty—to pray for the emperor and imperial family, and in all important cases to conform to the civil and commercial code of the French empire.

The Jews do not increase in Italy, for there is great emigration to countries beyond the Alps, particularly the southern parts of Poland. But wherever they have been properly protected, and have enjoyed a full and fair exercise of their trades and professions, their increase has been observed to be remarkably rapid, proceeding in a great measure from the following causes—an exemption from bearing arms, notwithstanding that in 1787 Prince Potemkin attempted to organise two regiments of Cossacks from that nation, to be called Israelowski.—2d, their laws of divorce

permitting barren wives easily to be put aside.—3d, an abstemious and well regulated life, great labour and industry, strong disposition to early marriage, and the desire to have numerous children, inspired both by the doctrines of their creed, and by a prospect that the Messiah may be born in their family.

I shall finish this chapter with an extract from a lively and ingenious author, giving a perfect portrait of the Jews in Southern Poland and Germany.

“Toujours suans à force de courir les places publiques, les cabarets pour y vendre ; presque tous bossus, une barbe rousse ou noire aussi crasseuse, teint livide, brèche-dents, nez long et de travers, le regard craintif et incertain, tête branlante, cheveux crépus épouvantables, genoux picotés de rouge et découverts, pieds longs en dedans, yeux caves, menton long, effilé, bas noirs troués et tombant sur leurs jambes desséchées ; chapeau jaune à Avignon, manche jaune à Prague, bonnet de grenadiers en Pologne.—Voilà comme sont en Europe dix millions d’Hébreux.”

Note.—By law of the 1st of March, 1816, the King of Sardinia excuses the Jews from wearing a mark of distinction—permits them to exercise all arts. &c.—to leave their ghettos on certain conditions. &c.—and five years to alienate all land acquired during the French times.

CHAPTER XXI.

CLERGY OF THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES, AND RELATIONS WITH THE COURT OF ROME.

Probe est, igitur, jucundissimus ille dies quo ecclesiasticis utriusque Siciliae regni negotiis compositis, viduas magnam partem illarum regionum ecclesias, pastoribus suis instructas recreatasque videbimus. S. D. N. Pii. Sep. Allocutio.

Concordat with the Pope, humiliating—deprives papal government of the right of jurisdiction—residence of Nuncio—nomination to benefices—annates, bulls &c.—sums for dispensations, &c. still paid—alarming number of clergy in 1786—revenues amounted to \$8,937,766—present number and revenue—great saving to the state—extraordinary wealth of the clergy of Venice—great changes made, &c.

THE two least dutiful children of his holiness are found on the frontiers of the ecclesiastical states ; Naples on the south, and Tuscany on the north. That eminent and independant statesman, Count Louis of Medicis, concluded a concordat with cardinal Gonsalvi, at Terracina, on the 16th February, 1816, probably the most humiliating instrument to which the Roman court has been forced to submit since the overthrow of the Bonapartes. I shall translate all the

important articles of this concordat, that have a reference to the mutual relations of the government, and which will serve at the same time to manifest, that the present abject days of the Roman pontiffs are truly and happily different from those exulting ones, when the Pope Alexander III., placing his foot on the neck of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, repeated from the psalm of David, *Super aspidem et basilicum ambulabo, et conculcabo leonem et draconem*.

Art. 4.—Every bishopric shall be endowed with revenues amounting to not less than two thousand four hundred and seventy-five dollars, in permanent funds, not subject to the taxes of the state.

7.—Curates, in all parishes of two thousand inhabitants, shall have a salary of not less than eighty-two and a half dollars,—under five thousand—one hundred and twenty-three and a quarter dollars,—and over five thousand—one hundred and sixty-three dollars.

8.—The presentation to abbeys, not of royal patronage, shall belong to the holy see, but a choice shall be made from the subjects of his majesty.

12.—All ecclesiastical property, not alienated by former governments, and which was found, at the restoration of his majesty, to make a part of the royal domains, shall be restored to the church.

13.—His holiness declares that the present possessors of all alienated property shall receive no molestation, at present or in time to come, from the papal court.

14.—The present embarrassed situation of the finances does not allow his majesty to restore the ancient monastic institutions, but as soon as may be, they shall be renewed in proportion to the means of dotation, more especially those devoted to the education of youth. The number of the mendicant orders shall be in proportion to the wants of the people.

15.—The church shall have power to receive gifts and to acquire property, but without prejudice to the law of mortmain and the other existing laws of the kingdom.

16.—The grievous circumstances of the times not permitting the ecclesiastics to enjoy an exemption from taxes, his majesty promises to cause those abuses of past times to cease, by which the ecclesiastics were more burthened than the laics.

18.—There shall be reserved to his holiness an income of nine thousand nine hundred dollars, upon certain bishoprics and abbeys of the kingdom.

24.—Whatever, contrary to the church and to good morals, shall be found by archbishops or bishops in books introduced into or printed in the kingdom, shall be forbidden by the government.

28.—His holiness grants forever to Ferdinand, and his successors, the right of nominating, from his good pleasure and free choice, to all archbishops, &c.

29.—The archbishops and bishops shall make the following oaths in presence of his majesty. I swear and promise, upon the holy evangelist, fidelity and obedience to his majesty, the king. I swear, also, to have no communication, nor be present at any assembly, nor encourage, either in or out of the kingdom, any transaction, secret or public, which may be to the prejudice of the public peace; and I promise to make known to his majesty all proceedings detrimental to the state, either in my own diocese or in other places.

Thus we see that the right of jurisdiction, of residence of Nuncio, of nomination to all benefices, of annates and of bulls, are all abandoned for nine thousand nine hundred dollars annually, and the advowson of seven abbeys. The provision made for the bishops is about the same as the average that the one hundred and thirty-one bishops possessed before the revolution. The provision made for the mendicant monks will not affect the revenues of the kingdom, as they have no incomes, but depend upon private charity: all these monks and nuns do not now exceed seven hundred. And as for the promise of future establish-

ments, concessions, and alleviations, it is not at all probable that for centuries to come, the "*temporum circumstantiae*" will be less "*luctuosae*." I shall only say here, that if the ultra royalist M. de Blacas d'Aulps, had been gifted with equal sagacity, independence, and liberality of mind, with the Count of Medicis, the French concordat of 1814, would not have been put under the table of deputies with the scorn and indignation of the whole chamber.

The following sums are still annually paid the Court of Rome.

For matrimonial dispensations	-	-	\$1,078
Dispensations of age	-	-	20
Permission to read prohibited books	-	-	60
To eat flesh in lent	-	-	40
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			\$1,198

It will serve to illustrate the articles of the preceding concordat, and it may be of some interest, to give a statement of the ecclesiastical state of the kingdom in 1786. It will serve also to show the great losses that the Papal Court has sustained in money and influence, in these dominions.

Whole number of ecclesiastics of all orders and conditions, 99,781, divided into

21 Archbishops,	
110 Bishops,	
55 *Foreign Bishops and Abbots,	
50 †Abbots nullius ecclesiae,	
<hr/>	
236 altogether possessing an income of	\$397,485
Members of colleges, chapters, priests } 47,233, with an income of	2,796,174
Monks - - 15,674	
Nuns - - 26,659	
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42,333, income	3,492,472
9725 of mendicant orders—at 66 dol- lars each of annual support; to this add for repair of churches and con- vents, which should have been added also to the other item	659,100
Chapels and congregations in the king- dom, employ 1300 persons	319,995
Those of Naples - - - -	14,850
Luoghi Pii, governed by ecclesiastics, } 6000 persons	147,690
Donations annually made to the church	260,000
For repairs and support of churches not } belonging to monasteries	850,000
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	\$8,937,766

* Foreign bishops are those enjoying, by collation of the Pope a bishop's revenue, but residing at Rome, or elsewhere.

† Abbots nullius ecclesiae enjoy rents of abbeys on similar conditions.

*8,937,766 dollars, being the whole cost of the clergy to the state in 1786, requiring a capital, at five per cent. of 44,688,830 dollars, and making a tax upon each individual of about 1.86 dollars.

The 7th of August 1809, all orders "possidenti" were suppressed, except the Spedaliere and Scolopi, who were tolerated for a time. The rents were appropriated to the state; the regular brothers receiving 78 dollars 10 cents annually, in quarterly payments, and the lay ones 39 dollars 5 cents. The whole number of ecclesiastical persons is now 23,000, and all their incomes amount to 577,000 dollars. More than

* In 1768, the Senate of Venice showed great animosity to the clergy; its fixed revenue in that city was then stated to be

	\$2,734,807
and its casual revenue	1,369,589

\$4,274,460

Among the items of casual revenue, were 3,107,682 masses, paid for by foundations, and 1,435 539 accidental masses, said in the convents, making 4,688,399 masses to be said annually, by 3,272 monk priests, and making 1432 masses a year for each priest. It may well be asked if these masses were said with fidelity—4,250,060 masses were also celebrated annually by the regular clergy. Great changes were made as to the disposition of this vast revenue, and as to the regulations of convents. I mention this fact, among many others to be found in this work, to show how great was the spirit of innovation in Italy, long before the French revolution.

3,000,000 of income have thus been saved to the nation in direct taxes, without taking into consideration the circumstance, that the monastic and church lands, which, as in all other countries, were doubtless the fairest vineyards, the richest plains, and the most fertile vallies, have come into the possession of independent proprietors, who will have a much greater interest in making those lands produce to the last fold than the ecclesiastics could have had.

Tracts of country also in pasture, and uncultivated, given over to taxes and barrenness by feudal oppressions, have been rescued. Such circumstances augur well for the increase of wealth and population in a country, which has little need of foreign commerce, and will, therefore, have its progress little affected by the condition of other countries.

CHAPTER XXII.

ROBBERS AND BANDITTI.

"Servos agrestes et barbaros, quibus silvas publicas depopulatus erat, Etruriamque vexarat, ex Apennino deduxerat."—*Cic. pro Mil.* 9.

Council of Trent enacted severe regulations against robbers—Conduct of Sixtus V.—500 murderers, &c. tried—terrible to the Romans—curious work, called *Compendio di servetii per estirpatione de Banditi*, &c.—Fewer robbers than formerly in Italy—war in the Calabrias between French and robbers—famous robber named *Fra Diavolo*—haunts of banditti, on the western side of Appenines—manner of life—practice of ransom—celebrated robber, *Cesaris*, carries off secretary of L. Bonaparte—made the secretary sketch his face—shot by a rifleman—his singular life—three leaders, *Mazzone*, *Barbone*, and *Cesaris*—*Mazzone* a traitor—*Barbone* and band surrendered themselves—tribunal of *Frosinone*, especially for the trial of the bandits—number of sentences in 1818—state of road from Rome to Naples, as to piquets and shelter for robbers—arms and skulls hung up—327 regular guards—only six robberies from November to March—robbers on the eastern side of the Appenines—mail guarded by twenty-two men—in 1815, 40,000 organized, called *Patrioti* and *Philadelphii*—civil war till 1818—General Church subdued the insurgents—frightful condition of the country—*Annichiarico* a most remarkable man—bandit for twenty years—believed to be a magician—anecdotes of him—taken after a siege of thirty-six hours, and shot—causes of robbers in Italy.

THE council of Trent enacted severe regulations, in order to suppress the enormous robberies committed

in Italy during the sixteenth century. It was at this time, that it was said in conclave, that the church had need of a Pope of iron, and not one of paper; in the same conclave, Sixtus V. was chosen; and those who had felt and had expressed that necessity, had not reason long to complain that their wishes were not accomplished. On the day of his coronation, 500 murderers, robbers, and assassins, voluntarily placed themselves in the prisons of Rome, waiting to receive the pardon always granted on the accession of a new Pope, to all who surrendered themselves. On the contrary, Sixtus caused all those malefactors to be detained, tried, and punished. This pontiff became so terrible to the Romans by his barbarous severity, causing even those to be brought to trial and beheaded, who had confessed their crimes to him, while he was but a simple priest in the confessor's box, and of which he had kept an exact note, that the mothers, in order to silence the cries of their children, used to say to them, "**Sixtus is coming.*"

I have in my possession a curious book, in small folio, published at Naples in 1687, called *Compendio di Servitii, &c. per la totale estirpatione de Banditi*

** Vita di Sisto. V. da Gregorio Leti. Amstel. 1721. 3 vols. in 12mo. one of the most curious books in any language upon the pontifical government.*

Regno di Napoli, &c. dedicated to Don Gasper du Haro y Gusman, and Don Diego de Soria Morales, in *two Italian sonnets*, and containing the names of 2650 robbers, shot, executed and banished in the course of eighteen months.

I have referred to the above circumstances, without intending any particular connexion with each other, in order to do away a reproach often made by travellers, that robberies are becoming more frequent in Italy. I believe that this reproach is far from being well founded; so much so, that there is abundant reason to believe, that no year since the beginning of the last century, has been so little disturbed by robberies and murders upon the high road, as the year 1818. It is in vain to say, that there was greater security in the time of the French. The king of Naples' (Murat) own carriage, escorted by thirty horsemen, was attacked in full day, near Terracina, and three of his suit killed. During his whole reign, there was a constant warfare between the banditti and the regular troops on both sides the Appenines, but particularly in lower Calabria. These bands were, for the most part, organized there, at the time that the Prince Charles and Leopold retreated into that country with 17,000 men, after the taking of Naples by the French under Joseph Bonaparte.

After the defeat of Count Roger de Dumas, on the 9th of March, in the neighbourhood of Lucera, the two princes retired to Sicily, leaving the greater part of those troops in Calabria, portions of which, joining themselves to numerous assassins, outcasts, and murderers, who had long lurked among those mountains, formed several small armies, the principal of which was led by Michael Pezzo, called Fra Diavolo. On the 16th of July, the fortress of Gaeta, so ably defended by Prince Louis, of Hesse Philippsthal, surrendered to Massena; that general immediately found himself in sufficient force to repel the English, who, under General Stuart, had just gained the battle of Maida, and to defeat the insurgents in a pitched battle at Cocozza. Fra Diavolo was taken and executed at Naples, Nov. 6, 1806. Scanty remnants of these men occasionally appear even to this day.

Banditti on the western side of the Appenines.—On the western side of the Appenines, the principal haunts of the banditti are between Paliano and Fondi, about Ponte Corvo and the *frontiers of the ecclesiastical states. The evil is not a new one.

* This frontier begins a few miles from Terracina, at the end of the Pontine Marshes, and runs east with a slight northern direction about thirty-five Italian miles near Sora, and from Sora it runs almost northerly to Leone about sixty-five miles, and nearly

“Armato quoties tuta custode tenentur
Et Pontina Palus et Galinaria Pinus.”

The robbers are labourers and shepherds, for the most part having families, and living in towns among the mountains; occasionally they assemble in small bands of six or eight, and descend to the road to plunder; but the most approved practice is, to seize some rich person of the neighbourhood, either upon the road or at night in his house. They carry him to the mountains and force him to send for a ransom. If the ransom is delayed, or the full amount is not brought, the robbers have been known to send the ears, nose, fingers, hands, &c. of the unhappy man, precisely in proportion to what they account the negligence of his friend. In June 1815, a band seized a traveller without knowing his name or character. He agreed to give 4000 crowns for his ransom, professing to be an inhabitant of Velletri. The ransom was brought from that town, but a woman, and these bands have spies in every corner of the district, gave them information, that the prisoner was the post-master of Velletri; the robbers resolved, without delay, to execute the unhappy man,

through the centre of that part of Italy. The country is woody and mountainous, and the means of escape from one state to the other are always at hand.

from the simple circumstance, that he had concealed his real condition in life. Before that event, five men, headed by the celebrated Cesaris, appeared one evening just at night-fall in the grounds of Lucien Bonaparte, at the Ruffinella, (ancient Tusculum), and succeeded in carrying off a gentleman, whom they found walking there. The robbers immediately demanded a large ransom, supposing that they had kidnapped the Prince himself, but the unfortunate captive, declared that he was but a poor painter, and simply the secretary of the Prince; it was in fact Mr. De Châtillon, an amiable and intelligent man, and possessing considerable skill in painting—"well," said Cesaris, who still believed that he was the true Prince, both from his height and foreign accent in pronouncing Italian, "If thou art a painter, paint my face." Accordingly the distressed secretary made all haste possible to sketch, with a pencil upon the leaf of his pocket book, a profile sufficiently like their chief, to satisfy the band that he was but a secretary and a poor painter, and in the course of two days, they suffered him to depart for a ransom of five hundred dollars.

It is well known that certain persons at Rome, have said, that this kidnapping was but a stratagem

contrived for family purposes. At any rate, this kidnapping has furnished Mr. de Chatillon with matter for a long and interesting history to all strangers, who visit at the palace; as well as for a drawing by his own hand, in which the painter appears in the midst of the robbers, sketching the face of their chief, with an expression upon his own, too true to the occasion not to have been real.

On Sunday the 24th January, 1819, this celebrated bandit, Joseph of Cesaris, was shot in a field near Prossedi, a small town thirty miles from the Neapolitan frontier, by a rifleman named Valentini. The robber had most barbarously abused a poor girl, and had left her on the road side in the greatest affliction.—A picquet of riflemen happening to pass soon after, the girl pointed out to them the part of the forest in which Cesaris had disappeared. The men went immediately and placed themselves in ambush in the forest, and in the course of the afternoon, the bandit was seen by Valentini, within gun shot, creeping out into the plain. By decree of 15th July, 1818, a reward of one thousand dollars was promised to whoever should kill or arrest this man, and a hundred dollars to any one, who should give notice where he was lurking, with a promise of entire and eternal

secrecy, a promise very necessary to make, for Cesaris was more feared in the neighbourhood of Prossedi than all the Pontifical troops.

In the outset there were three leaders, Barbone, so called from his long black beard, Cesaris, and Mazzone, properly Massarone. Barbone with his band, kept chiefly on the road from Rome to Naples. He is very famous for having concealed himself with two followers, thirty-five days in Albano and its neighbourhood, at a time when the whole district was invested and covered with soldiers, watching every field, and tracking him night and day from house to house. He is known never himself to have killed an individual, though, during this remarkable search, several soldiers were stabbed or shot by his followers. In the month of November, 1818, he and all his men surrendered, putting themselves under the act of amnesty, proclaimed by Cardinal Gonsalvi, and having, moreover, received from the Cardinal himself, at the time when the Cardinal with all his suite was suddenly surrounded by Barbone's band, on the public road leading to Frosinone, a religious promise, that the punishment should not exceed one year's imprisonment in the castle of St. Angelo, with the further condition, that at the end of that period, suitable

provision should be made for their support. I saw them all in the winter of the same year, playing at ball in an open room of the above named castle; Barbone receiving at that time thirty cents a day for himself, and twenty for his wife, and each follower with his wife, receiving two thirds of the above sums. At the end of their imprisonment, they are to be employed as prison keepers, at Civita Vecchia, where they will doubtless find many of their old comrades.

Mazzone early received a pardon by giving himself up, and having promised to way lay and assassinate Cesaris, for which he was to receive 500 dollars. He went to the woods near the frontiers of Naples, which he knew were the lurking places of that remarkable man, and contriving to send him intelligence that he was the bearer of proposals from the government, desired Cesaris to appoint a spot for a conference. In the mean time, Cesaris was informed by a spy, that an ambuscade was about to be laid for him. He, accordingly on his part, prepared an ambuscade for Mazzone, and when this pretended negotiation was finished, running off himself in a direction opposite to his usual hiding places in the forest, he escaped the toils of this base traitor, while Mazzone, suspecting no stratagem, was shot by the

followers Cesaris had placed in ambush. But the government had its revenge for Mazzone's death; for the detachment sent with him, immediately went to Prossedi, the birth place of Cesaris, took his wife, and three children from their homes, and massacred them in the public square at three o'clock in the afternoon. From that time, Cesaris became one of the most deadly and blood craving robbers known for many years in the Pontifical States, murdering, committing rapes, burning houses, and cutting off the ears and noses of all unhappy persons in the service of the government, who had the misfortune to fall into his hands. Before that time, the robbers had had the policy never to injure a soldier, except for their own preservation. His band usually consisted of only twenty persons, living generally in the mountains, and seldom infesting the high road. They lived by compelling people to ransom themselves, and whenever they were in want of food, never feared to descend into the villages, where they always found sanctuaries, and maintained spies. They wore small iron chains round their necks to which they fastened the jewels and trinkets they stole. When Cesaris was killed, many pieces of gold were found sewed in his clothes. On the 31st of January it was known to the government, that the remaining bandits had chosen a Calabrian for their chief.

On the 18th of April 1818, Peter Martini, of Montefortino, was shot in a field of the territory of Coni. The tribunal of Frosinone congratulated the district in a printed address, that this "terrible and famous robber had at last been overtaken by a merited fate." On the 31st of January 1819, all the robbers whose names were known to the pontifical government, amounted to twenty-eight, denounced under the name of "malviventi." In conformity with the general directions issued during the pontificate of Benedict XIV., but more particularly those of Cardinal Gonsalvi, of April 3, 1818, and 28th of December of the same year, a special and extraordinary tribunal, assisted by a large military force, was established at Frosinone, which town is precisely the centre and refuge of the bandits. This tribunal is permanent, and confined to the Malviventi alone. From lists of sentences that I succeeded in obtaining, it appears, that from March 9 to October 18, 1818, it had condemned to death 8—to the galleys for life 9, and at other periods 36, and 41 to public labour, making nearly an average of 200 persons convicted yearly of being engaged in robberies and practices connected with them—five in six are from twenty to forty years of age, and three in four are married: suppose, therefore, a wife and two children for each of the 150.

it shows that 450 persons are yearly exposed to want and misery, on account of crimes coming before this tribunal alone, without including the numerous spies, partisans, and accomplices in other families. Before each trial the judges all swear to an eternal secrecy, pertaining to all things, which shall transpire during the trial, always conducted with closed doors. This is practised in all Roman tribunals, but among the mountains of the Appenines, it is sufficiently evident, why witnesses should require to be sheltered by secrecy and mystery. This tribunal publishes from time to time a list of the Malviventi, with the offer of 400 dollars for the head of a leader, and 200 for that of a follower. The last proscription, that I saw, was dated May 2, 1818, it contained the names of thirteen persons, among these, was Innocent Rinaldi, called Testa Brutta, denounced for murders, rapines, counterfeitings, thefts, taking of ransoms, and vengeance—Vincent Buglione, called Brugiaferro, &c. Besides the regular troops, patrols of men, called Cacciatori, belonging to the towns infested by bandits, are organized at the expense of the communes. The inhabitants, moreover, are ordered to assemble at the tolling of the village bells.

On the third week of February 1819, the following was the state of the celebrated road from Rome

to Naples, so renowned in the chronicles of bandits. From Rome to within two miles of Albano, a distance of eighteen miles, there is but one house, and that is the post-house at Torre di Mezza Via; not a more desolating and heart rending scene, than the first fifteen miles from Rome, is to be found on the face of the earth—one mile from Albano an arm was nailed to a post. From Albano to Gensano, ten miles, steep hills and much wood—to Velletri six—a name bearing a most ominous sound, the country is open and cultivated—opposite the post-house there were six or eight men, in large brimmed hats, black beards, long sharp noses, black hair, and entirely wrapped up in reddish coloured cloaks. Three miles from Velletri two legs were hung up on a tree—from Velletri to Tor di tre Ponti, the country is flat with eminences toward Cisterna. Some woods near the road were burnt down in time of the French, in order to destroy the lurking places for robbers—in general, in the abovenamed distance there is much wood, coming entirely from the mountains, but cut down a short gun shot's breadth from the road side. Messrs. Collier and Greaves, one of whom afterwards died of a fever at Rome, were robbed this winter by eight men at the angle of a low wall, which runs the eighth of a mile along the road, and then turns into the

forest. From Cisterna to the Tre Ponti there is a small house for making cheese, but no other habitation. The Pontine marches begin at the Tre Ponti and reach to Terracina;—it would be imprudent for robbers to put themselves on this causeway—a ditch on each side, and the country open, clear and marshy. From Terracina to Fondi the wood is near, and the country gloomy, barren and dangerous. A Welch gentleman was robbed in the month of March, 1819, near Fondi, at eleven o'clock at night, and his courier carried to the mountains. To Gaëta, thirteen miles, the country is less favorable to robbers. To Garigliano, nine miles, safe country. From St. Agatha to Sparaniza, seven miles, the road goes through thick vineyards, and low woods along the road side, with mountains near. This is thought the most dangerous part of the road from Terracina to Naples—a skull hanging in an iron cage from a post—a wood, descending a hill, where the postilions usually stop to lock the wheels, celebrated for robberies. To Capua, the country is flat and open, and mountains distant—no trees but elms and poplars, to which vines are trained; and it is well worth the risk of going through Velletri and posts, where many skulls are hung up, to see this magnificent region.

The following is the state of the escorts and picquets on the road, in the same month:

An escort stationed at each post-house, from Velletri to Terracina, consisting of a brigadier and five horsemen - - - } 5 posts,—30 men

As many of these men will attend as you choose to take, paying the price of a post-horse for each man.

From Cisterna to Aversa there are 27 picquets of infantry stationed at short distances on the road. From St. Agatha to Sparaniza, seven miles, there are five. Each picquet has a corporal and ten men, and they are obliged to perform a patrol from post to post every three hours of the night - - - - - } 27 picquets, 297 men

Regular guard - - - - 327 men

Add, troops stationed at Terracina, 500

Fondi - 50

Itri - 50

Gaëta (town) 25

Tower on enter. Nea. Dom. 11

Capua - 800

Aversa - 100

— - 1536

Number of infantry and cavalry on road from Rome to Naples } - 1863 men

There is, therefore, obviously no lack of precaution on the part of the government, and there is no doubt that robberies have diminished within three

years. From November, 1818, to March, 1819, six robberies, committed on this road, appeared on the police books of Rome and Naples, including the two I have already mentioned. Taking into account the number of travellers that have travelled upon this road during that time, (most of whom have gone and returned from Naples) the rate of insurance cannot be called great, the real loss amounting to less than half per cent. even upon the number of carriages.

Robbers on the east side of the Appenines.—The mail-coach from Naples to Barletta, on the Adriatic, is guarded the whole way by two gendarmes on horseback, and through the valley of Bovino by twenty men on foot, who follow behind it from post to post. There still remain in those districts about forty men, who descend from the mountains on horseback, into the vast plains of Pulia and the Capitanata. Three days before we passed, a major and six men had been killed in a skirmish with these marauders. The chief cause of the troubles and disorders that have long existed on the eastern side of the Appenines, has been a political zeal among a large class to establish a general republic in Italy. To the proper understanding of the subsequent part of this chapter, it will be necessary to speak briefly of that matter here, though I shall give a particular account of it in the chapter on Carbonari and Crivellari.

From 1815, the year of the return of the king, 40,000 men were organised in those districts, (formerly known under the name of *Magna Graecia*;) divided into *Patrioti*, being the nobility and upper orders, and *Philadelphi*, composed of the lower classes. They had uniforms, committees, standards, and were regularly exercised, and sent dispatches. In each town was established what was called a camp; there they voted the death or confiscation of property, house, garden, lands, or whatever it might be, of an odious person. Rich and powerful men paid and protected robbers and assassins in their palaces. The consternation was universal; every door and window were shut after sun-set, the streets were abandoned to murderers, and fear and death were in the hearts and imaginations of all men. *The Neapolitan government was not remiss in sending troops in the direction of these disturbances, but the commanding officers unluckily were possessed of violent ultra principles, and resembling a similar experiment in the south of France, their measures served only to persecute and inflame. At length, in the beginning of the year 1818, the king conferred the high and almost supreme power of Commissary of his majesty, with the commission of "*Alter-Ego*," in the command of the 6th

* This was during the administration of Prince Canosa.

military division, upon general Church,* formerly colonel of an Albanian regiment, in the service of Great-Britain, and latterly engaged in services and conferences with the Neapolitan armies. General Church marched into that country at the head of nine thousand troops, Albanians, Swiss, Germans, Corsicans, and Neapolitans, in order of battle. The day he took possession of Lecce, a principal town in that division, placards were posted on the walls of the neighbouring towns, setting forth that Lecce had been taken by storm, the inhabitants given over to be murdered, the houses to pillage; and despatches were sent to the different camps, ordering the patriots and philadelphi to assemble.—In reality, a large body appeared before Lecce the next day. But the same night general Church succeeded in arresting a greater part of the leaders at that time in Lecce, and published a proclamation, declaring that all patriots or philadelphi should be pardoned, who could prove that they had been forced to engage in the rebellion from fear of death. The insurgents soon became di-

* Gen. Church is the same officer who has lately been accused, in the public prints, of having violently torn the Sicilian cockade out of the breast of a peaceable citizen, in a public street of Palermo. Gen. Church has subsequently declared the accusation to be unfounded, and has demanded a Court-Martial.

vided into four or five parties, who made war with the regular troops during the whole summer. Many of these unhappy men were exterminated at the point of the bayonet, shot in fields, or shot after being taken. Several severe contests between the royal troops and the insurgents took place; ten or twelve small towns had strength enough to resist a short time, and a considerable town, St. Marzano, was taken by storm. Many priests were discovered in these intrigues and rebellions. Indeed, *Priests have been more famous than any other class in Italy, for dancing round trees of liberty, preaching the new evangelist, and leading bands of patriots, with drawn sabres in their hands. The result of all the decisions of regular military tribunals was, one hundred and fifty-eight men shot, thirty imprisoned or sent to the galleys, and two banished to the little island of Felecudi, near Sicily. These, however, were in reality but a small portion of those who suffered during these unhappy times.

On the 6th of September, 1818, general Church issued from his head-quarters, at Lecce, a proclamation of the king, containing a perfect oblivion for the past, and a full pardon to all those who should return to their duty and obedience, excepting only assassins

* See particularly proceedings at Brescia.

and those who had been guilty of private offences. Relying on the good dispositions and perfect tranquillity of the provinces, his majesty moreover declares, that no denunciation will hereafter be received against any individual, other than those prescribed by the regular course of justice. General Church still remains supreme commander of this division, although all the civil and criminal tribunals have been re-established.

This is a very hasty outline of the violent and dangerous domestic commotions that existed in a considerable portion of the kingdom of Naples during the greater part of three years, and of which the rest of Europe was either ignorant, or chose to take no notice.

It is not necessary to repeat, that the few facts I am now about to relate, have a close connexion with that political disaffection of the people, of which an account has just been given. Four brothers, called Vardarelli, from their occupation, were the most famous, about two years ago, of all the chiefs on this side of the mountains. One day in the month of December, 1817, they entered the small town of Orsara, which they plundered; but, as they were retreating, the inhabitants, aided by a few regular troops, fired upon them, and killed several of their party: thence they fled to Foggia, where they were finally destroyed.

But the most extraordinary bandit, whose exploits somewhat resemble the celebrated ones of the famous Rinaldo Rinaldini, was a priest by the name of Cyrus Annichiarico, born in the small town of Grotagli, on the road from Tarento to Lecce. His first achievement was the murder of a whole family in the town of Francavilla. He had been a bandit for twenty years; the country people believed him to be a devil and magician, and laughed and scoffed at the soldiers who were sent to pursue him. When the French general Ottavio, a Corsican by birth, commanded in this province, a man presented himself one day before him, and said, with a fierce air, "the bandit whom you have so long hunted is now before you, but if he is molested, you will be assassinated before night-fall." Annichiarico turned and disappeared, and from that time general Ottavio doubtless had faith in the belief of the people. General Church, also, when one day in pursuit of this man, was accosted by a peasant, who drew him aside, and gave some intelligence concerning Annichiarico. The next day the peasant was found dead in his village, and a paper pinned on his breast with these terrible words, "This is the fate of all those, who betray Annichiarico."—The last band he commanded was called the "decided;" each man possessed a certificate, bearing two

death's heads with other bloody emblems, and the words "Justice, liberty or death," signed by Annichiarico. I saw one, in general Church's possession, written with human blood. At last, in January, 1819, this astonishing man, finding himself beset upon all points, threw himself, about sun-set, with five followers, into an old tower, in the midst of a farm-yard, near the small town of Casuba, hoping that in the dead of the night he should be able to escape through the soldiers, many of whom were his friends, and all believed him to be the devil; but in the course of an hour a close line of light troops was drawn round the tower, out of reach of musquet shot, and after a siege of thirty-six hours, he was forced to surrender, having fired away all his cartridges, and killed five and wounded eleven of the enemy. He was carried to Francavilla, the scene of his first crime, tried by a court-martial, and there shot. It was on a Sunday when he was sentenced to be executed, and general Church sent to ask the priests, if it was according to their religion to shoot a man on that day. They answered, * "the better the day, the better the deed."

* Precisely the answer given by the notorious Robert Ferguson to those who proposed to kill the king, James II. on Sunday. He also offered to consecrate the blunderbuss Rumbold was to use to fire into the carriage. See Dryden's works, vol. 17, page 172,—also Mr. Scott's note (91) to Absalom and Achitophel.

Annichiarico died like a madman. From eight to ten thousand persons were assembled to see him shot, and to the last moment they treated with perfect scorn and indignation the notion that bullets would pierce such a man.

Poverty and bad passions, taking root in the oppressions of the government, and in that ignorance maintained in the people, either by the ignorance itself, or by the craft of the priests, are the true causes of the numerous robberies committed in Italy; and it requires but two or three firm, decided, intelligent, moderate and humane officers, like General Church, to extirpate every robber in the whole peninsula; for he, himself, has done more by his excellent and undeviating administration of justice, than by all his Swiss and Albanian bayonets. Still, the pontifical government seems to think it cheaper to shoot and send these poor wretches to the galleys, than to remove a few unjust taxes, or to endeavour to encourage a little good instruction among its subjects. Apart from morals, it may be doubted if this is not a bad financial calculation.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ACCOUNT OF THE CARBONARI AND OTHER SECRET SOCIETIES IN ITALY.

Carbonari and Crivellari first known in 1813—other names—but with the single purpose of establishing a republic in Italy—numerous in every part of that country—arrests frequent—had arms—characters, &c.—Count Gallo and nineteen persons tried in Rome—of the Carbonari in 1819—appointed 27 June 1817 for general rising—signal that the American squadron was in bay of Naples, in order to assist.

THE *Carbonari and Crivellari were known at Civita Vecchia, as early as December 1813. At that time a priest, by the name of Battaglia, at the head of the insurgents, was arrested by General Miollis, and carried to Rome. These are two of the denominations; they are also called "Fratelli seguaci," "Protettori Repubblicani," "Adelfi," order of the "Spilla nera," Calderari, but the "Guelfi" is the most general appellation.

The Pope and Neapolitan king published at their restoration edicts against the society of free masons,

* Carbonari means charcoal-makers; Crivellari is the Italian for sieve-makers. Spilla, commonly written spillo, means literally, pin. Calderari braziers, &c.

and all other mysterious meetings. These societies, however, continued to exist; various individuals were arrested from time to time, particularly in Lombardy in the month of January 1819, when thirty persons were seized with all their papers; all persons of consideration, among them was Count Peter Cicognara, another Count from Padua, whose name I could not learn, and a painter by the name of Pistrucci, known for possessing considerable talents as an improvisatore. In the same month and the same year, two carriages full of Carbonari were arrested at the gate del Popolo in Rome. These arrests being made with the utmost secrecy, it was difficult to ascertain the names of the persons, or even the times when they took place. It is well known, however, that numerous individuals belonging to these orders, were tried in different parts of Italy, and condemned to imprisonment in different castles and fortresses.

While I was in Rome, the trial of Count Gallo and nineteen other persons arrested at Macerata took place; they belonged to the sect, called Carbonari, but had a correspondence with the other sects. I succeeded in obtaining a sight of the minutes of this trial, which was conducted with great secrecy, though the sentence was afterwards published. From these minutes it appeared, that the object of these societies,

which were very numerous in Lombardy and the eastern side of the Pontifical and Neapolitan states, was the independence of Italy, and the establishment of a constitutional government in that country. I extract the following sentence from their own constitution, "To teach men the true method of moral life; to disseminate the light of truth; of true philosophy and the right of equality." The emblem, or coat of arms, of the Carbonari, seized in the room in which they met at Bologna, is two swords united; above them a large star, meaning that the sect is favoured by heaven; sun shines on the one side, dispelling the clouds of ignorance, &c.; a human bust with an altar before it; this bust is Brutus; before this bust a hand, holding a poignard over the head of a wolf; meaning by the wolf to represent government. The explanation is taken from the testimony of one of the witnesses. There was also a mystical catechism, or rather signs with a meaning; for example, the cross meant, to crucify the tyrants; the crown of thorns, to pierce their heads; the ladder, to mount upon the scaffold, &c. &c. The oath of secrecy and brotherhood was taken over a bottle of poison and a burning iron; to mean, if they should waver or betray, that the poison might be their drink, and the hot iron burn their flesh. The Carbonari were actively

employed from the autumn of the year 1816. The central committee was in Bologna, which was the chief *camp of the first division. Ferrara of the second, and Ancona of the third. The language employed in correspondence was an alphabet invented by the Guelfi.

On the 17th of December, 1816, the government arrested sixty-three individuals in the pontifical states, many of them, on promise of pardon, afterwards made important disclosures. This obliged the society to abstain from its usual meetings and correspondencies, they were, however, renewed in a few months, and the 27th of June, 1817, was fixed upon as the day when there should be a general rising; and on that day proclamations were actually pasted on walls, in different parts of the provinces of the March and Umbria, some of them signed by Gallo as consul, proposing to the people what I have already stated was the object of the society, as well as a diminution of the prices of food, an abolition of all taxes, &c. But only partial risings took place, owing to the knowledge possessed for a long time by the government, of the movements of this society. In Macerata the conspirators were dispersed by the town-guard. These transactions were concealed as

* The Italian word is "Baracca," properly, Barracks for soldiers.

much as possible from the public eye, and probably were little known out of the provinces in which they took place. Among other details of their secret correspondence, the number, 102, meant that the English had joined Napoleon; 103, that the American squadron had come into the bay of Naples to assist in a general revolution; this circumstance was expected, and apparently believed by each of the prisoners; 37, 15, revolution in France; 300, 14, Napoleon in London; 246, Joseph left America; 273, Napoleon in Turkey; 60-49, Lucien Bonaparte in motion; 311-7, little Napoleon (*piccolo Napoleone*) in Italy, &c. &c. The *Marquis Gallo and several of the prisoners were found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment for life.

I have not been able to obtain any authentic information of the existence of these sects in Italy before the beginning of the year 1813. †Revolutionary parties have always existed in that country; but as far as I could learn, they were not known by the

* Gallo was mayor of Osimo during the French times. He proved on his trial, in order to mitigate his sentence, that while he was mayor he had relieved many religious persons; had saved the church of St. Nicholas and three convents of Capucins from destruction by the French; that he had saved one priest from exile; another from three years of irons, &c.

† See concluding chapter.

name of Carbonari. It is now, however, well known, that they were first set up by the countenance of partizans of the legitimate governments, in order to overthrow the dominion of the French in Italy; and it was discovered on the trial that the priest, Battaglia, arrested at Viterbo in 1813, was an agent of the Neapolitan consul, Zuccari—that their numbers are very great, though to pretend to specify them, would amount to little more than a guess; that many of their members are tinctured with a strong religious enthusiasm; and, lastly, that most of the societies, or “Baracche,” are organized, both according to the precepts of the holy evangelists and the principles of a perfect republic.

Such is the account of the secret societies that have existed in Italy more than ten years; and considering that many men of virtue, talents, learning, rank and fortune, belong to them, it is not difficult to believe, that they will hereafter make a more conspicuous figure, and will have as much share in altering the present government of that country, as the *Tugendbund* had in the Prussian revolution, of the years 1812, 13.

CHAPTER XXIV.

LIBERTY OF PRESS IN ITALY.

No Liberty of Press.—Censors arbitrary—state of the press in *Piedmont*—only three newspapers in that country—what newspapers admitted. State of press in *Lombard Venetian Kingdom*—more liberty as to printing classical works—newspapers readily admitted—papers published at Milan—in *Tuscany*—great liberty as to introduction of foreign books and pamphlets—novels—books printed under false dates—that of *Philadelphia*—only two newspapers. In *Naples*—great liberty as to introducing books—little printing—only one newspaper for whole kingdom—in *Rome*—half a century behind Europe. No work less than half a century old to be found in Rome.—Index would have made all Europe barbarous—cruel fate of the Abbé Mastrofini—jealousy of Censors—difficult to bring modern works into Rome, or to take out schismatic ones—*Fratres Poloniae*—one newspaper—anecdotes of liberty of press in Rome—anecdote of history of Guicciardini.

THERE is no liberty of press in Italy; no liberty defined or protected by the laws. On the contrary, the right of publishing is in every state reserved to the discretion of several individuals, appointed by the government, and created dictators in this matter; whose decisions, however arbitrary or capricious, can never be reached by appeal to judicial tribunals. In Piedmont, the censorship is exercis-

ed either by persons taken from the chancellery, or by prefects or judges of courts in the departments.

The* whole law of 20th June, and 8th July, 1775, is repealed, excepting that part, which forbids all persons publishing defamatory libels against any person whatsoever, under the penalty, in some cases even of death; and all are punished with the like severity who shall be detected in distributing or pasting up such libels. There are but three newspapers published in the Italian portion of this kingdom, one at Turin, called the Gazette of Turin, one in Savoy, in French, and a third at Genoa, called the Political, Commercial Gazette, &c. The librarian of the university of Turin, is commissioned with the power of watching over the admission of foreign books. The only foreign newspapers received, are those of Milan, Florence, Rome, Naples, Lugano, Lausanne, the "Moniteur," Journal des Debates," and "Quotidienne,"—"The Journal du Commerce" and the "Minerve" are particularly prohibited.

In the Lombard Venetian Kingdom, the instructions given to Censors, are specified with uncommon care, though they are less rigid than in other

* Leggi e Costituzioni di sua Maesta, tomo, 2 p. 258.

parts of Italy. In the first place, every hand bill or placard, advertising sales or plays, or whatever may be its object, must be sent to the office of the censor, before it can be published. All books, merely scientific or literary, are treated with indulgence, but political works are subject to the special inspection of the government; in those cases the authority of the common censor not being accounted sufficient. Those works, too, are examined with particular care, that contain discussions upon the relations of the kingdom with other states, and nothing reproachful to a neighbouring nation, or one at peace with Austria, is suffered to be published. Autographs or augmentations to the works of living persons, must receive the permission of those persons in writing before they can be published—the same rule extends to dedicatory epistles, or introductions. No attention, however, is paid to the index of the court of Rome, as all books there forbidden, are suffered to enter and leave the kingdom at the discretion of the subject. For example among the last works, the “*Histoire des Republiques Italiennes, par Sismondi*” has been translated and published at Milan;—one volume of this work has lately appeared upon the index.

In general, there is at Milan a great liberty of publishing approved works, whatever may be their religious or political tendency; certainly double the liberty that is possessed even at Florence. It is true, there is much severity concerning pamphlets, or small ephemeral productions brought from France or England, but such works as Machiavelli, *Filangieri, Gibbon, Voltaire, and especially, works on political economy, are published without difficulty. A translation of Roscoe's Life of Leo X., in twelve volumes, 8vo., with valuable notes by De Rossi, was also published at Milan in 1816. As to the Index, however, it sometimes happens that the Court of Rome makes a special arrangement with the government concerning one particular work. For example, “*L'Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition*” by Llorente, was formerly distributed in Lombardy, but it has lately been prohibited at the solicitation of the pontifical government.

Newspapers of all countries and politics are admitted with little scruple. In the same reading room at Milan, one finds the Morning Chronicle, Gazette de Frankfort, Moniteur, French Minerve, Courier, &c.

* La Scienza della Legislazione di Gaetano Filangieri. The edition I have of this work. is in five volumes 12mo., and professes to have been printed at “*Filadellia nella Stamperia delle Provincie Unite, 1807.*”

Nevertheless, on the arrival of the mail the post-master is obliged to send a copy of each newspaper to the censorship for that department, and if nothing seditious, or offensive is found in the newspaper, a "distribuatur" is immediately sent to the post-office, but if no distribuatur arrives within a certain time, all the papers of that title and day are confiscated. There are four papers published at Milan, *Gazzetta di Milano*, daily—*Il Conciliatore*, Sundays and Thursday—*L'Orceatabrighe*, in opposition to the *Conciliatore*, and *il Giornale delle Donne*, on Saturdays.

Tuscany.—In the time of the "Great Duke Leopold" the Tuscan government was at variance with the Pope, and therefore permitted the entry and publication of books of all descriptions, in many of which, the papal government was treated with little decency; such as *Istoria del Granducato di Toscana di Galluzzi*, *il Conclave di Serbor*, and other works of less note. But since the year 1790, no work, offensive to the Court of Rome, has been nominally printed at Florence. There is, however, a perfect freedom in introducing books and pamphlets of all descriptions from all countries, and the book shops in particular, abound in translations of British, German, and French novels, and late English political pam-

phlets. All who please, read Voltaire, Hume, Rousseau, Diderot, Gibbon, Destult de Tracy, &c. &c. and in reality, many forbidden books are printed at Florence, though under the false date of Milan, Lugano, London, some town in America, and often under the general head of "Italia." The *Novelle of Casti*, *Boccaccio*, epigrams of *Pananti*, Tuscan history by *Pignotti*, and various other works, prohibited by their own censors, have lately been published in this manner. Such a censorship is, therefore, only a part of the state etiquette. There is, however, a censorship under the direction of a priest of the congregation, *Scolopi*, and it sometimes happens that considerable severity is exercised as to *original* works written *in the country*, on religious or political subjects. It ought, moreover, to be remarked, that these Italian governments, being all arbitrary, possess the power at all times of condemning, or confiscating any work, whether foreign or domestic. There is, therefore, no real security for author, printer, or publisher, either for the present time, or for times to come, inasmuch as these censors interpret phrases and paragraphs exactly as the interests of their masters, or their own good, or bad prejudices, or the circumstances of the moment, may require. There is one newspaper published at Florence, and another at Leghorn.

The press is also governed by an arbitrary censorship in the kingdom of Naples. Great difficulties exist as to printing books, but works of all descriptions are easily and readily introduced, though there is a special commission appointed to watch over the admission of those, either prohibited by the Index or the censors. Most works accounted liberal, or heretical, beyond the Alps, are procured without difficulty in the book shops of Naples, and political pamphlets and papers, such as the "*Minerva*," *Morning Chronicle*, and *Edinburgh Review*, are received by the public post of the government. In all the kingdom of Naples, in a population of more than 5,000,000, there is but one newspaper printed, "*il Giornale ufficiale delle due Sicilie*"—at the same time there is less publishing of all sorts in Naples, than other capitals of Italy.

As to the knowledge of literary and scientific works, the Roman government has succeeded in placing its citizens in Rome, at least half a century behind those of any other part of civilized Europe. It is difficult to find in the great libraries of the Vatican, *Minerva*, or *Corsini*, any book that has been published within fifty years, and it is still more difficult to find them in the book shops. It is true, they are well furnished with accounts of Popes and Cardinals, and

descriptions of the antiquities of Rome; for the Index has excluded nearly every book that does not sing to the glory of the cross, the glory of the throne of St. Peter, or the still more harmless glory of a Roman column. An intelligent friend at Rome, known by a valuable work in French, upon the history of the principal councils, told me, that he had not been able to find Hume's history of England in any library, public or private, in the whole city. In the outset, the Index was a branch of the Inquisition, and I leave it to the judgments of impartial men, if a more foul or powerful conspiracy against the genuine progress of society could have been devised. Again, if it were possible to suppose that the Index could have been as faithfully respected in all catholic countries, as it has been in Rome, that single octavo book of three hundred pages, would alone have sufficed to have held down in ignorance and barbarity, the best parts of Europe.

The censorship is very arbitrary and capricious in Rome. The ecclesiastics of the different congregations, inspired with a constant hatred and jealousy of each other, as of protestants, have their cowls always thrown back, ready to cry out upon schism or heresy. The master of the holy palace, of the order of jacobins, is at the head of the cen-

sors, and every manuscript must be first sent for his inspection. If the manuscript is not approved, it is either confiscated or delivered to the tribunal of the Inquisition, so that the unhappy author not only loses his book, but he is liable to be tried by the Inquisition, for sentiments contained in it. The act, therefore, of sending a work to the inspection, is considered in some cases, equal to a publication, for the author is as much exposed to punishment as if he had published and distributed a thousand copies. First fact.—The Abbe *Mastrofini, a learned man in Rome, had employed many years in composing a profound work in latin, in two volumes folio, in order to prove the mysteries of the trinity by the aid of metaphysics. He obtained, about 1807, permission to publish this work; but the occupation of the French taking place in 1808, the Abbe judiciously abandoned his project till the return of the Pope. This work was again approved by the censors, and the Abbe even received permission to dedicate it to the Pope. The first volume being published, a violent clamour was immediately raised against it, chiefly by the Jacobin monks, and it was delivered over to the Inquisition, as containing dangerous and heretical doctrines. The

* Author of *dizionario critico de Verbi Italiani conjugati*. Roma, 2 vols. in 4to. 1815.

injured Abbe, a man of true modesty, pure religion and exemplary life, in vain demanded of these prejudiced men, What evil have I done? But they only cried the more, "Let him be crucified;" and there is little doubt but that this learned work will be condemned by the Inquisition, leaving the unfortunate Abbe Mastrofini with the loss of ten years constant labour and immense research, with the loss of much fame very justly to be expected, with the loss of the great expense attending the publication of this work, and with the further oppressive and mortifying reflection, that if he shall hereafter undertake more folios, the approbation of the master of the holy palace, and even of the Pope himself, will not be sufficient to protect him.

In the spring of 1818, the eloge of Visconti was read by the Chevalier de Rossi, in the Archaeological Society of Rome, in the presence of two cardinals and four foreign ministers. The next day an account of this sitting was sent to the public paper, but the police forbade the publication, because Visconti had been chief of the Roman republic; about three weeks after, a notice was inserted in the *Diario*, briefly stating that, on a particular day, this eloge had been read. These are samples of the liberty of press in the dominions of the Pope.

A few works, merely literary or scientific, are published in Rome; but only one newspaper, *il Diario di Roma*, in all the pontifical states. Considerable liberty is granted as to foreign newspapers, but this is chiefly owing to the influence of the English. The ill-starred "*Mercure*" is, however, prohibited. The bringing in, or carrying out of books, is superintended with much severity. The custom-house refused to allow the *Fratres Poloni*, belonging to a friend of mine, to pass upon an invoice for exportation, unless the owner of it obtained from the master of the holy palace a permission to read and hold prohibited works, as well as a special permission for the exportation of the above named work. It will readily be perceived, that the government cannot be accused of a lack of zeal, or perseverance, in oppressing and stifling all good letters; at the same time, there probably never was a pontificate, when the members of this government were more pure and upright, though they certainly have never been more ignorant, or less eminent for learning and *talents.

* I have no means of ascertaining the number of works published for any one year in Italy. The number of books and pamphlets printed in France in 1818, was only 4830; and this included many works published yearly, in series.

Note.—Another specimen of the Index. The history of Guicciardini, edition of Stoer, of Geneva 1636-45 was condemned on account of section 47 book 4, on the temporal power of popes, and also on account of another short passage; section 47 is 3 folio pages long. By decree of August 7, 1703, these works are, "*Loci duo ex ipsius historiarum libris tertio et quarto dolo malo detracti, nunc ab interitu vindicati.*"—But the edition, printed at Florence in 1818, as well as the Milan edition, contains the whole of that celebrated passage.

CHAPTER XXV.

UNIVERSITIES IN ITALY.

Padua.—Course in gymnasiums and lyceums, necessary to enter the university—regulations of the gymnasiums.—number of students—professors, &c. at Padua—number of lectures delivered—salaries of professors.—*Pavia.*—Number of students, professors, &c.—Professors had rank of nobles.—*Pisa.*—Students and professors—salaries—Greeks and Jews in this university—to what degrees entitled—ten noblemen.—*Sienna.*—College Tolomei devoted to nobles—professors and salaries—present dialect at Sienna—eighty students only—discipline very severe—learn little but fencing, dancing, writing poetry, &c. The *Seminary* devoted to the priests.—*Boiogna.*—Students, professors and salaries—permission from Rome necessary to grant a degree to a protestant. Mezzofanti—celebrated medical school at Palermo, now in great obscurity—other universities in Italy—chiefly schools of medicine—care of letters confined to a small class—school of arts at Florence—professors, salaries—Morghe—great price for some of his engravings.

UNIVERSITY AT PADUA.—Before entering the university, either of Padua or Pavia, it is necessary to have gone through the gymnasiums and lyceums. Both these institutions are subject to the controul of the government; a gymnastic code (codice gimnasiale, one vol. in 8vo. 287 pages,) was publish-

ed, by authority, at Milan, in 1813, containing rules and regulations for the government of these institutions. The military organization is dispensed with, and more frequent exercises in religion are required; in other respects this code differs little from the one adopted for the administration of French lyceums. Lads are not received into the gymnasium before nine years of age, or without an examination and a certificate of undoubted talents, ("ingegno distinto") "persevering diligence," and "irreproachable morals." Corporal punishments are forbidden, and, in cases of negligence, admonition, information of misconduct sent to parents, degradation, and finally expulsion, are substituted. In cases of departure from good morals, if admonition is found to be without avail, the student shall be put under arrest, but this arrest can never last beyond twenty-four hours, or be repeated. The second offence of a like nature is punished with expulsion. The course in the gymnasium lasts six years. The chief object of study is the Latin language, particularly as to its relation with the Italian. Lessons are also given in physics, natural history, religion, geography, history; the Greek language, and German, may be taught in extraordinary hours. A public examination is prescribed for every month. The most precise and particular rules are laid down as to

the books to be used, and the manner in which the students shall be taught. This is the education, beyond a mere elementary one, appointed for all youths, without exception of rank, fortune or family, in this populous and valuable fief of the Austrian empire.

In 1819 the number of students at the university of Padua, was seven hundred and ninety-three. Twenty courses of lectures are delivered in theology, all in latin—twenty-two in legal and political sciences—ninety-four in medical, chirurgic, and pharmaceutic, and thirty-nine in philosophical branches. These lectures are delivered, upon an average, four times a week, for six months, and besides the theological, seven others are also delivered in latin. They occupy from two to four years, excepting the medical course, which occupies five years. The salaries of professors of theology are from four hundred to five hundred dollars, according to time of service. Professors of medicine, of the first class, receive six hundred—of the second, seven hundred and eighty—and of the third, one thousand. The professors of law, philosophy, and mathematics vary, according to time of service and number of pupils, from two hundred to one thousand dollars. To reward any remarkable industry or literary success, the salary is increased by order of the emperor; of which a remarkable instance has

lately been made known in the person of Anthony Marsand, now “magnificent rector” of the university, and who received an augmentation to his salary of two hundred and fifty dollars. That learned man is now engaged in a splendid edition of the Lyrics of Petrarch. A very great proportion of the students are from the Lombard Venetian kingdom. The faculty of medicine is most frequented and most celebrated. That faculty has now taken the place, in the Italian universities, of the faculty of law, for which they were once so much known. From eight to twelve women annually follow the course of medicine, for the purpose of midwifery. The library is said to contain 100,000 volumes.

Pavia.—In 1819 the number of students was three hundred and seventy-six. More than two-thirds are in medicine. The first year of the medical course is occupied with the elements of geometry and algebra, Italian and latin eloquence, analysis of ideas, and Greek literature. The second with physics in general, botany, anatomy, physiology, comparative anatomy, and chemistry. The third year with the materia medica, the institutions of surgery, pathology, anatomy, comparative anatomy, and natural history, clinical medicine, and pharmacy. The fifth year with anatomy, midwifery, legal and clinical medi-

cine. Before the French revolution, the professors of this university had the rank of nobles. At present they have salaries nearly like those of Padua.

Pisa.—The number of professors in activity at this university in 1819, was thirty. Six of those professors gave lectures in different divisions of the canon and civil laws; the large proportion, however, of the professors, are employed in medical and other branches relating to that study. The professors are named by the grand duke upon the proposition of the council of state. The lowest salary is three hundred, and the highest five hundred dollars; they also receive small fees for the degrees of scholars; but instruction in all the courses is gratuitous. The number of scholars is four hundred and seventy-three, in general Tuscans, though they are received from all parts of the world; among whom are found Greeks, Corsicans, and a few Jews from Leghorn. No certificate of birth, family, religion, or any condition whatsoever, is required for admission, except an acquaintance with certain studies, and particularly the latin language.—The term of residence is four years; but at the end of two, the student is examined in all his previous lectures, and he is allowed to pass to the third year, only when he is found to be properly instructed in the studies of the two first. There is also an examination at the end

of the third year, and again another at the conclusion of the academic course, when the student receives his degree. The examinations are all held in public, and the questions to be proposed are drawn by lot. The lectures begin in November, and last till May; the month of June being employed in examinations, at the end of which the vacation begins. The library is said to contain 40,000 volumes, and is increased by annual contributions. The University possesses no permanent funds, but the grand duke appropriates every year from the treasury of the state, the sums necessary for its maintenance.

The Greeks, either from the islands or the continent, amounted this year to thirty-four. They apply exclusively to the study of medicine, surgery, and the physical and mathematical sciences. They are allowed to receive the degree of doctor in each of the above courses.

There were but five Jews in 1819, all natives of Leghorn. They are allowed to receive degrees in medicine, surgery, the physical and mathematical sciences; and they are also allowed to attend all lectures of the University, but without degrees.

The University of Pisa is principally devoted to the education of citizens; there have been years when not a single individual of noble family could be

found there. The six professorships of law were modified by the French into one on Roman law, one on the code Napoleon, and a third on the code of procedure civile et criminelle. They also added a professorship of French literature.

Sienna.—In this city is the college of Tolomei and the Seminary of St. George, from both of which students pass to the University, to which are attached five professors of law, five of mathematics and philosophy, four of theology, five of medicine, and one of Italian, Latin and Greek eloquence. These professors are named by the Grand Duke, with salaries of from 150 to 300 dollars a year; the lectures are, besides, paid for by small fees. The college of Tolomei is open only to nobles; it has a great name in Italy, and is much frequented on account of the purity of language known to be spoken at Sienna. No other city, not even Florence, is said to be free from local and provincial pronunciation and manner of speech. Sienna is, therefore, acknowledged to be the most classical spot in Italy; and a residence there is accounted necessary, in order to accomplish a young man in the difficult art of speaking and writing his own language with greatest perfection. Foreigners, particularly English, pass months in that city for the same purpose. Still, the number of students in 1818

was only eighty; but it ought to be stated, that the Austrian government has forbidden all its subjects in the Lombard Venetian kingdom to practise at the tribunals, or to hold offices, who shall not have received a degree, either at Pavia or Padua. This law is particularly injurious to Sienna, as the nobles in the above named kingdom, have hitherto been conspicuous for the superior care and time bestowed upon their educations.

Young men enter the Tolomei at seven, and leave it at eighteen; they are then entitled to follow the lectures of the University, a privilege of which only few take advantage. From the time of admission till they graduate, they are not permitted to leave the college, except to dine at remote intervals with their friends or relations in the town, and even then they are required to be within the walls at Ave Maria. Every summer they go to a villa, eight miles from Sienna, where they pass six weeks for the sake of exercise and relaxation. They pay 140 dollars for board and lodging at the college, and also additional sums for masters not registered on the foundation, such as dancing, music, fencing, riding, and drawing masters. The examinations and exhibitions are frequent, and chiefly taken up by singing, playing, dancing, fencing, and reciting of their own poetry, in

which they are said to excel. In the Carnival, they act Italian plays with great applause. A more sure and rapid process of making an accomplished Cavalière Servente, could not easily be devised. This college possesses great funds, left by the founder of the same name, and also by subsequent benefactors.

The seminary is exclusively devoted to the education of priests, and, together with the Tolomei, is entirely under the direction of Fathers of the order Scolojij. All the professors and governors are appointed by the archbishop from this order; they have no salary, but are supported by funds of the college, and live as in a convent.

Bologna is the only other University in Italy, of which, on account of its ancient reputation, it may be necessary to make particular mention. It is, at present, little more than a school of medicine. Nothing more is required for admission than a respectable knowledge of latin, and some notion of belles lettres. The students pay fees at examinations and on receiving degrees, amounting, in the whole four years, to one hundred dollars. Individuals of all religions and nations are received, but it is necessary to have a permission from Rome in order to grant a degree to a protestant. This measure

has been adopted since the restoration of Bologna to the Holy See. In 1819 there were four hundred and thirteen students, of whom twelve were of noble family, studying for the professions of medicine and law, and seven Greeks, all studying medicine. The salaries of the professors amount, on an average, to four hundred dollars each. They are paid from the public treasury, as the funds of the college are only sufficient to maintain the library and cabinet. The professors, whose lectures are to the number of thirty-six daily, are appointed by the secretary of state, upon a list sent by the government of the town. The celebrated Mezzofanti is a professor in this university.

I pass by the university of Naples, which, as a school of medicine, has already taken the place of Salerno, where was established the first medical school in Europe, and which became so celebrated by the latin poem in Leonine verse, "de conservanda bona Valetudine." There is still a medical school at Salerno, but in great obscurity, at which a few students are taught for the purpose of being sent down into the Calabrias, though probably without much profit to the inhabitants. I pass by, also, the university of Genoa, of Turin, at which Alfieri was educated,—of Parma, to which the celebrated de Rossi

is attached,—the Roman college, and the Sapienza, so called from the motto over the door,

“ Initium sapientiae timor domini.”

All these universities together, in one of which alone, there were found, at no very distant period, eighteen thousand students, and upon whose walls are seen, even to this day, the arms of young men from among the first families of nearly every nation of Europe, do not now contain as many students as most of the universities north of the Alps. And after all they are justly to be called medical schools rather than universities, a sure proof that the necessities of society, and the prospect of gaining a livelihood, have led men to seek for a public education, rather than the love of letters, or an ambition to be distinguished in science or literature. Many young Italians are educated under the family roof, but education there is exceedingly defective, and if parents are satisfied with such an education for their children, and if the universities are so little frequented by those classes that receive a public education in England and Germany, it is only still further evidence how much education is neglected in Italy.

Though not particularly connected with the universities, I shall add a brief account of the Accada-

nia delle belle arti of Florence, the most celebrated school of painting at present in the world.

PER ANN. SCHOLARS.

Director.	Professor of Painting and Composition	\$600	}	30
	Assistant ditto	300		
Professor of the elements of Drawing		300	}	80
	Assistant ditto	144		
	Sculpture	360	}	10
	Assistant ditto	144		
	Architecture	360	}	50
	Assistant ditto	144		
	Engraving	600	}	16
	Assistant ditto	144		
	Ornaments and Perspective	348	}	90
	Assistant ditto	144		
	Engraving of Gems and Cameos	348	}	3
	Scagliola	300		3
	History—Librarian, and Secretary	360		

The director, (Mr. Benvenuti) as well as Mr. Morghen, have, beside their salary, house-rent free.—
The second class are :

PER ANN. SCHOLARS.

Professor of Piano-Forte and Organ	\$216	30
Vocal Music	216	12
Violin	216	15

Professor of Composition of Music	-	\$216	
Declamation	- - - -	432	10
Chemistry	- - - -	240	} 12
Assistant ditto	- - - -	144	
Mechanics, Hydraulics, and Mathematics	}	360	
Assistant ditto	- - - -	216	

On the death of the present professors of Piano-forte, declamation, scagliola, and engraving of gems, those places will be abolished. Scholars are admitted twice a year, and none under the age of twelve years. The length of time they study there is at their own option. The far greater part of the students are Tuscans, some few from the more northern parts of Italy.—Of noble families there are but two or three small boys, and one young man, a Neapolitan marquis. They study merely for their amusement.

X In 1819 there was but one foreigner in the academy, Mr. William Main, of New-York. Morghen, mentioned above, is the celebrated engraver, much known in this country as having engraved the last supper by Leonardi da Vinci. I mention only two facts to give an idea of the vast sums paid this extraordinary man, even for the smallest specimens of his hand.

He lately finished a small plate representing our Saviour, the head of which very little exceeded the size of the one of the same figure engraved by him in his transfiguration by Raphael, with two hands in proportion, and a few clouds by way of a back ground, for which he was paid thirteen hundred dollars. He is now engaged, engraving a portrait—a head, (which could be covered with a dollar) two hands, and a small piece of white drapery, for which he receives two thousand dollars. The drapery is done by others, directed by him, at the expense of the proprietors of the plate.

CHAPTER XXVI.

LAWYERS.

Tribunals public only in Tuscany—how judgments are rendered—education of an Italian Lawyer—no reports in Italy—little eloquence at the Italian bars—singular decision concerning Pompey's statue.

TUSCANY is the only state in Italy, in which the tribunals are all public; the profession of the law is there respectable, and exercised with skill and learning; nevertheless there is neither civil or penal code. The judgments are all rendered after preceding decisions, practices of the country, interpretations of the civil law, and decrees of the sovereign. It is therefore evident that the Roman and Tuscan tribunals differ little from courts of equity, or rather an arbitrary power is given to the judge of combining and reconciling those different institutes. It would be a less embarrassing and uncertain practice, if there proceeded at intervals from permanent and paramount authorities, solemn acts and statutes intended to define, illustrate and direct; but the decrees of the sovereign seldom pos-

sess a disposition so universal and unsparing, and are more commonly issued for temporary and partial purposes.

A lawyer begins to follow the courses of the university, at about sixteen, which he is required to do for four years. He is required, also, to pass other four years at the feet of a professional man. The Roman bar is the most distinguished in all Italy, for the number, learning, talents, and rank of the persons, who there appear. Eminence at this bar, is rewarded by preferment of all descriptions not military; and this justice ought to be done to the Roman government, that there exists nowhere in Italy, a more popular tribunal, or one from which more individuals of excellence, unaided by rank or fortune, have been elevated to important dignities. The present governor of Rome was an advocate at this bar, and is now on the sure and straight road to a Cardinal's hat. None of these bars are distinguished by much eloquence. Lawyers are rather known by a deep and accurate knowledge of the different edicts and constitutions; and the chief art is to find two of these edicts that shall be at variance with each other;—an undertaking by no means difficult and seldom unsuccessful, for the mass of these edicts is enormous, and

they have been for the most part, inspired by a momentary caprice.

A work was published in 1818, called *Repertorio Generale di Giurisprudenza dei Tribunali Romani per l'anno, 1817*. This was a very abridged account of all causes that had come before the tribunals in that year. And this is the only work that contains any notice whatever of the proceedings of the courts. There is the same deficiency in Tuscany.

I shall end this chapter, with the history of a singular decision, given concerning the statue of Pompey, at whose feet Caesar fell. A statue eight feet high, holding the globe in the left hand, a broad belt over the left shoulder, and a slight drapery on the same shoulder and arm. It is now in the palace of Spada. It was found under ground, the head being in the cellar of one man, and the body in that of another, and the partition wall resting precisely upon the neck. The man, who had the head, claimed the whole statue, because the head was the most noble part, and the other with the body making the same claim, because the body was the largest part. At last the matter was referred to the tribunal, when the Judge, doubtless bearing in mind the decision of Solomon, directed

that the head should be separated from the body, and that each man should take his own share ; but a Cardinal, hearing of this judgment, sent and bought the whole statute, head and all, for five hundred dollars.

Note.—Four thousand dollars a year, is reckoned in Italy, a great income for a lawyer.

CHAPTER XXVII.

JESUITS.

Qui magnum aut Pompeium aut Caesarem
Aut Alexandrum cogitas,
Aperi oculos veritati,
Majorem his omnibus leges
Ignatium.

Inscription upon an old print of Ignatius of Loyola.

Jesuits re-established, August 17 1814.—In what countries Jesuits are now found, and in what numbers—Jesuits' convent at Rome largest in the city—proportion of deaths great—school at Georgetown near Washington—at Stonehurst in England, &c.—suppression of Jesuits one of the most important reforms of last century.

THE 17th of August 1814, the Pope issued a brief authorising the establishment of the Jesuits in any country of the earth. It is said that this restoration was chiefly effected by the intercession of Alexander of Russia, the King of Spain, and several smaller potentates, who saw the necessity of protecting this order, in order to procure the means of instruction for the lower classes. “*In these deplorable times,

* Extract from the brief of August 17, 1814.

the Jesuits were instructors most capable of forming youth to christian piety, and the fear of God, which is the beginning of wisdom, and of instructing them in science and letters.” The King of Naples rejected their petition to be established in his kingdom on this side the Faro, under pretence that he had not funds at his disposal adequate to that purpose. There is not a Jesuit to be found in China, Mexico, South America, or the Grecian Archipelago; and they are formally forbidden to have houses in Tuscany, the Austrian States of the north of Italy, and in Portugal.

The convent, in which the body of Ignatius was deposited, has been restored to the Jesuits by the Pope. This convent contains 213 separate rooms for fathers, besides a very large church, and is the most spacious and best built of all the religious houses in Rome. On many of the cells I saw the following inscription, “St. Ignatio Loyola fondatore della Compagnia di Gesu; al Demonio non entrare.” The convent has lately received a legacy of 7000 valuable books from a rich nobleman in the north of Italy, but the property of all the order having been confiscated at the time of their *suppression, this house is in a state of great poverty, and depends

* By brief of Clement XIV. July 21, 1773.

principally for its support, upon the profits of the church. The Jesuits have a college at Georgetown, near Washington; it is reckoned a good establishment, contains eight priests, about sixty boarders, and a few day scholars. They have, also, an extensive and wealthy establishment at Stonyhurst, in Lancashire; the college was founded about thirty years ago, now contains two hundred and seventy pupils, and including professors, managers, and servants, has a population of at least five hundred individuals. Between 1000 and 1100 acres of land are attached to this college. It is, however, not a corporate body, and the land is held in the name of English catholics. At Hirst Green, within a quarter of a mile, there is a seminary for educating young boys, in order to prepare them for the college. Again, in Ireland the Jesuits have succeeded in getting the direction of another institution for education, called Castle Browne, originally upon a foundation of £30,000. *In the Russian Empire they have been much protected, on account of their useful services in the instruction of youth. In 1818, there were twenty-one colleges, residences, and missions in that empire, containing

* Since this was written the Jesuits have been all expelled from the Russian Empire, by an Imperial edict.

two hundred and thirty-seven fathers and novices. In Spain, in the same year, there were twenty-three colleges, &c. containing two hundred and thirty-three fathers and novices. In the island of Sicily, in nine colleges in 1817, there were a hundred and eighty-one fathers, novices, and assistants. In the same year, nine fathers and two novices, died from the whole number. This is a great mortality, particularly for monks who are known to have longer lives than any other class, but many of the Jesuits are now aged; they belonged to the order before the acts of suppression in different countries of Europe, and since the restoration, they have taken shelter in the few houses that have not been confiscated. In the Jesuit convent at Rome, there were representatives of no less than seven nations, survivors of their order in those countries, and who had crept towards Rome as the last sanctuary for them upon earth. In sixteen houses of all descriptions in Italy, there are two hundred and seventy-nine priests, novices, and assistants, and from the 20th of May 1815, to the 18th of April 1818, thirty-eight of their order have died. There is also a school under the direction of the Jesuits at Bordeaux, another at Amiens, and in four other towns in France, but there are none at Paris, neither are they acknowledged by the government, or allowed to be

corporate bodies. The above statements give eight hundred and forty-nine persons in houses of this order, and including the few in America, England, and France, the whole number in the world will not exceed one thousand.

The suppression of the Jesuits by Pope Clement, was one of those remarkable acts of reform, which distinguished the last century, and in that particular, gave the papal government as great claims to the gratitude of man as any other Italian government. It did its full share in the great work which is now in full operation, and which will doubtless lead in a few years to the second suppression of the Jesuits.

Note.—Enough on the score of general reproach has been said in all languages against the Jesuits, but I refer those, who are better pleased with a detail of facts, established by legal evidence, to the very curious and extraordinary trials, entitled *Procès des Jesuits à l'occasion de leur commerce*, in 15th volume, and to the *Procès contre les Jesuits*, in the supplementary volume of "*Causes Célèbres*."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ITALIAN NOBILITY.

"Stemmata quid faciunt, quid prodest, Pontice, longo
Sanguine censeri, pictosque ostendere vultus
Maiorem, et stantes in curribus Venilianos,
Et Urbes jam dimidias, humerosque minorem
Corvum, et Galban auriculis nasoque carentem."

Number of noble families in all Italy—present condition—number compared with Spain and England—singular fact of Justiniani family—families of Ariosto, Dante, Vespucci, &c.—persecution of nobles during thirteenth century—singular nobility "*Della Iana*," &c.—"nobles of golden book at Venize"—"nobili conscripti" at Rome—nobility acquired by purchase—seven Lazzaroni made noble—Massimi and Santa Croce descend from Roman families of Maximus and Publicola—inhabitants of Trastevere and Esquilin, both pretend to descend from ancient Romans—male line of Colonna extinct—fortunes of Italian nobility—education—manner of life—amusements—catching birds "*al Specchio*"—Milan most distinguished by character of nobility—literary nobles—description of an Italian palace—one fire-place in five rooms—household of Doria family—wages of servants—practice of "*bono mano*"—Italian palaces changed into inns—society—at the theatre—Casino, &c.—manner of society very advantageous to strangers—great debauchery at Venize—habits of Italians in drawing-rooms and in private—Italians amiable—English may do

much good—*marriage* and *morals*—live too much in convents and marry too early—*anecdote* of foreigner who wished to marry a Roman Patrician lady—*dowry* of princesses and other noble ladies—*pin money*—*account* of Cavaliere Servente—old ladies have a “*commedino*”—books read by Italian women—less profligacy than formerly—still much to alter—*account* of Torlonia, the great banker—Cardinals married.

Six hundred and seventy-two noble families, of distinct origin and title, have existed in Italy from 1550 to the beginning of the French revolution. Eighty-six of these are already utterly extinct, and twenty-four are now either declining, or much in decay. From most of these families, numerous families have spread, so that, without question, the noble families in Italy, at the beginning of the last century, amounted to nine thousand. Each family, including all generations, contained on an average sixteen individuals, and this gave *144,000 noble persons for all Italy, a number by no means exaggerated; for Spain in 1787, a country with a population little beyond that of Italy, and where celibacy and the monastic life are full as common, contained 480,589 *hidalgos*, or noble persons. England and Wales, 1803, according to a table of Mr. Colquhoun, formed after the

* The above details were received, for the most part, from Count Litta, of Milan, now engaged in a great work upon the noble Italian families.

model of one made by Mr. Gregory King, contained, including the princes of the blood, the lords temporal and spiritual and baronets, only 16,665 noble persons. There are now, for example, thirty houses of the family of Carracciolo of Naples in that city alone, besides several in Placentia. In the autumn of 1818, 404 noble families, in the city of Milan, entered their names on the register of the master of ceremonies, claiming a right from their birth to be presented at court. Milan contains 130,000 inhabitants; and as early as 1171, an hundred of the Justiniani family of Venice, imitating the example of a celebrated family of ancient Rome, with a noble enthusiasm and devotion to their country, embarked in the Venetian expedition against *Constantinople. They all perished.

I obtained a few details concerning some of the families most known in foreign countries; for example, the Alighieri of Florence is extinct; this was the family of Dante.* It is well known that Dante, with his family, went to Verona, where he wrote the greater part of his poem, and in that city the family at last perished. One branch of Ariosto, the poet, still remains at Ferrara. The branch at Bologna, is

* Daru. *his. de Venize*, vol. I. p. 158.

† Maffei. *Verona illustrata*, part II. page 100.

extinct; the Sforzas remain in the family of Attendolo di Colignola; the family of the tragic poet, Alfieri, exists in Piedmont; the family of Cardinal Belarmino at Monte Pulciano, famous for its wine; the Buonarroti of Florence, family of the great artist, still exists in that city. About ten years ago one of this family was a gendarme at Lucca. The Boccaregro of Genoa, from whom was taken the first doge of that city, now exists in Spain. The family of Bernini, the architect, also exists. It would be better, perhaps, if his statues did not. Davanzati, one of this house made a celebrated translation of Tacitus, remains at Florence. The families of Filicaja, the poet, Guicciardini, the historian, and Galileo, the astronomer, also remain in the same city. There may be found in Hungary some branches of the Frangipani, celebrated in the middle ages of Rome; the Gaetani, another family also known in the civil wars of the Coliseum, the tomb of Cecilia Metella and of the mole of Adrian, exists both in Rome and Naples, but under a different name. The family of Filangieri, the writer on legislation, is to be found at Naples. The house of Machiavelli, of Florence, is extinct: a branch of the family Rangoni has taken its name. A branch of the celebrated Medici, of Florence, exists in the place Ottajano at Naples; and

there are still some in the first named city. The Medici of Milan also exist, but they are declining; the Maffei, of Volterra, the family of the celebrated Scipio, are now at Verona; several branches of the family of Tasso, the poet, exist in Germany. This family invented the Post. There are still various branches of the Visconti at Milan, but they are in great decay. Lastly, the family of Vespucci, after whom America was named, still exists at Florence.

During the thirteenth century, Florence, Sienna, Pistoia, Pisa, Genoa, Bologna, Modena, Padua, and Brescia, showed a most violent hatred to the nobility, and successively enacted severe decrees, prohibiting all persons of that class from holding offices. At Florence, in particular, was established the celebrated nobility of the silk company, of the cloth company, &c., though the nobles, "della Seta," always enjoyed more consideration than the nobles "della Lana," perhaps on account of the greater value of their merchandize. But Venize was always more aristocratic; in 1319, the golden book, so called, was made, containing the names of all the nobility alone eligible to the grand council. These names amounted to 600, and formed forever the true and permanent noblesse of Venize. However, after the celebrated peace of 1381 with the Genoese, thirty new persons, who had

rendered eminent services in the preceding war, were inscribed in the golden book ; among these, were five shopkeepers and eight mechanics. The 4th of June, 1797, this book was burnt with great ceremony, in Venize, at the foot of the tree of liberty.

A similar Senate was formed in Genoa, in 1528, made up of 400 members ; their names were also inscribed in a golden book. This book was burnt like the Venetian one. In the capitol of Rome, there is a list of seventy families, who call themselves "Nobili Conscripti Romani," and whoever applies to fill a vacancy in this list, is required to prove a noble descent for two centuries, both on paternal and maternal side.

In 1361, the patricians of Venize were forbidden to engage in trade, and such a law was enacted in most of the great Italian towns before the end of the 17th century ; still the nobles in most of the trading towns, particularly that of Genoa, have more or less capital embarked privately in commerce or in banking houses. The above mentioned nobles, with a few exceptions, are now simply distinguished by a more illustrious origin, and by having formerly possessed greater prerogatives ;—a noble of the golden book of Venize, is still called by eminence, "nobili di Venezia."

Nobility in the present day, can always be acquired by purchasing a feud, to which a title remains attached :—Thus Torlonia, a cloth merchant in Rome, bought the estate of Bracciano of the Odescalchi family, and he is now called Duke of that possession. Lucien Bonaparte, by a similar purchase from the ecclesiastical chamber, became Prince of Canino, and, lately, it has been proposed to the celebrated Margacci, formerly a Vetturino in Rome, to buy that principality, by which he would succeed to the title now held by Lucien. It is necessary that this title should be confirmed by the government, but in no instance does it confer either power or privilege, without the direct gift and sanction of that government. The title of Count or Marquis, to a land proprietor, costs from eight to ten thousand dollars. Formerly in the Ionian Islands, five hundred dollars of rent, or the profession of lawyer, or doctor, was sufficient to confer the title of nobility. Seven Lazzaroni at Naples have also succeeded in less than half a century, in ennobling themselves by purchase. These are among the most conspicuous modern creations that have come to my knowledge. Nevertheless, this nobility stands in the third place in public estimation.

ranking both after those of the libro d'oro, and those who have been subsequently ennobled in consequence of meritorious deeds.

There are now two families in Rome, that pretend to descend from the ancient Romans. The Massimi, in whose house the first printing press was established in Rome by two Germans, Sweynheym and Pamartz, carry back their line to Fabius. I know no other reason, than that he was called Maximus, and they are called Massimi. This family is now declining, and it has lately been forced to sell a complete copy, belonging for a long time to the family, of the first edition of all the works printed in their palace. The other family is that of Santa Croce, pretending to descend from the Publicolas. Voltaire, who found no difficulty in deriving Menes, said to be the first Egyptian King, from Fohi, the Chinese god, by changing *fo* into *me* and *hi* into *nes*, would not be at all embarrassed by the etymology of Publicola and Santa Croce; at least as far as the names were concerned. But the families of Roman descent are not confined to Italy. A celebrated English traveller in Greece gives out that he belongs to the family of the latin historian, Aulus Gellius. And finally, a man, who

drives a cart in the *Trastevere, shows an equal pride and zeal for his genealogy, and being named Lenteletto, probably because his father sold or raised bad lentils, obstinately insists that he is of the ancient and great family of Lentulus, and which appears to have been distinguished in ancient Rome pretty much for the same accomplishment. But on the subject of genealogy, the Colonna family, the male line being now extinct, the Prince Laurence Pamphili, of that illustrious family having died at Paris the 17th of February, 1818, aged only twenty-nine years, shewed undoubted records and monuments as far back as the tenth century. "The name and arms of Colonna have been the theme of much doubtful etymology; nor have the orators and antiquarians overlooked either Trajan's pillar, or the columns of Hercules, or the pillar of

* The inhabitants of the Trastevere at Rome are allowed to have more talent than those of any other quarter, notwithstanding that those of the Esquilin pretend to be alone descended from the ancient Romans. Those of the Trastevere claim the same distinction, but they overlook the circumstance, that that quarter was always inhabited by low and indigent people, and that in the time of Augustus, the Jews were there confined—still they persuade themselves that they are a distinct people, and in passing the river, they say they are going to Rome. Trastevere comes from Trans Tiberim; vide Venuti, vol. 2. p. 162.

Christ's flagellation, or the luminous column that guided the Israelites in the desert." It is a curious circumstance that till the time of Sixtus V., this family was always excommunicated every holy Thursday, by bull "in coena Domini." Compared with the real and splendid antiquity of this family, it answers little purpose that a learned German should compose a quarto, in order to demonstrate that the present kings of England are descended from Attila, or that a base spirited Spaniard should indite an octavo, setting forth that Manuel Godoy, called Prince of Peace, is descended from Montezuma.

The houses of the Prince Borghese, brother-in-law of Napoleon Bonaparte, and of Piombino, have an income of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, that of Doria Pamphili, eighty thousand ;—at the beginning of this century, the Doria family was nearly becoming bankrupt. And the houses of Chigi, Barberini, Altieri, Cesarini, Rospigliosi, Pallavicini, Rospoli, Braschi and Bracciano, are estimated from thirty-five to sixty thousands dollars income. These are all Roman families. The families of Gerace, Lawrenzana, Caprano, Carditi and St Feodora at Naples, possess from 30 to 70,000 dollars. The head of the Borromeo family at Milan, has an

income of 70,000 dollars, and the Marquis Litta, made Duke by the French in 1808, the richest individual in that city, above 100,000 dollars. There are six families at Genoa, among whom is the famous family of Spinola, that possess from 60 to 90,000 dollars income. There are no nobles in Italy richer than those mentioned above, and as they are selected from towns of opposite characters, the same rates of income will apply with sufficient accuracy to those parts of the country of which no notice is taken. The orders of the nobility are, Prince, Duke, Marquis, Count, Baron, and Chevalier, also nobles called before the Popes and nobles of Nepotism.

The main defect of the Italian nobility lies in the total absence of a suitable and becoming education. The boys are abandoned early to priests, who are, perhaps, as honest and conscientious as most instructors in other countries, but who, themselves, have seldom much knowledge beyond their missals and a few lives of saints. The dignity of these persons and the value of their profession are represented by Rosini in the three following stanzas.

" Il Padron che lo sa, tosto in pensiero
Precettor lo destina al figliolotto,
Che per anco a studiar non ha piacere :
Col Padron già la paga è stabilita :

Né ridere, o lettor, più che non suoli—
 Tre scudi—ed otto n' ha il cocchier ; ma trita
 Istoria è questa, e d' barbagianni soli
 Ignota ell è, che da un Signor pregiati
 Sieno i cavalli assai più de' figliuoli !"

This is the license of the poet, though in fact the tutors receive from ten to fifteen dollars a month, have the care of the young men in general from seven to twenty-one, and are expected to teach them Latin, philosophy, and mathematics. In a college it costs about ten dollars a month for board and instruction for a noble's son.

*It has been a reproach to the Italians, that the Scotch came into their country to educate them, and even if the well known life of a Roman poet contains a just satire upon the inhabitants of Italy in his days,

Omnia Graece —————
 Quam sit turpe magis nostris nescire latine ;

it is surely a greater reproach that in the present day they should be educated neither by strangers or countrymen. In their youth they learn to sing, play, fence and make verses. When they have grown to man's estate, and many of them are gifted with the rarest talents, you will find them in casinos, theatres, or acting

* Tiraboschi vol. 3, p. 146.

a part of a Cavaliere Servente. The eldest brother inherits all the estate, and for every 15 or 20,000 dollars of income, he bestows yearly in the proportion of 1000 or 1200 on each of his brothers, allowing them at the same time, rooms in his palace, and a cover at his table. The family rises late, and dines about twelve or one o'clock, before which time no Italian woman is ever drest. Immediately after dinner they undress themselves entirely, men, women, and children, and go to bed ; at the end of an hour, or an hour and a half, they get up, and the ladies prepare themselves for the evening ; about four they all get into a carriage, and are driven to the principal street, or avenue in the town, commonly called the Corso, where they put themselves in the procession of carriages, and walk and trot back and forth, till it is time to go to the Cassino if at Bologna—to the theatre, if at Milan or Naples, and there being no Cassinos at all at Rome, and no theatre, except during carnival, and the theatres of Florence being neither spacious or much frequented, people content themselves in these last named cities by going to drawing-rooms.

In the month of May, they go to the country for two months, called Villegetura, and after staying in town till the vintage, they return again to the country for two months more. Here their chief amusements

in the open air, are fishing and catching birds in nets. The chase in any form is little followed, and at the present time appears to be chiefly monopolized by that Nimrod of the south, the King of Naples. Here, too, the Italians pass whole hours in that extraordinary sport, called "al specchio;" a looking glass is placed upright in the ground, in such a way, that when the bird sees himself in the glass he will be disposed to jump into the net, and the Italian prince, or marquis, who certainly does not make a more conspicuous figure in this farce than the unhappy bird itself, is upon the look out to pull the string.

Milan is now much distinguished for the enterprise, spirit, and hardihood of mind of its nobility. There is in that town more striving after liberty, and more praise-worthy publications of a liberal tendency. The literary, and religious, and political spirit is more refined and exalted, as the inhabitants of that town have been less subject to ecclesiastical oppressions, and have been long engaged with the different foreign governments, upon which they were dependant, in constant strife and struggle. Several noblemen, such as the Counts Confalconieri, Caleppio, the Marquis Visconti and Zaguani, Mr. de Brême, write in the *Bibliotheca Italiana*, and other literary journals, published in that town. The Marquis Cognolais is

one of the most distinguished architects in Italy.—Noblemen also have a share in the *Georfil* of Florence and *Giornale Arcadico* of Rome, edited by Peter, Prince of Odescalchi. A young Florentine nobleman has just published a translation of the *Iliad*. Many are engaged in agricultural experiments, particularly Count Bardi, of Florence, who has made various attempts to improve the Tuscan wine. His family had formerly the power of life and death. Count Genori continues the manufactory established by his father near Florence, in which ninety workmen are employed in making the coarser kinds of porcelain.—But these are rare and remarkable efforts for the Italians. Few of them have become literary men, for little could be published—few statesmen, for as little could be spoken—and few soldiers, for in half the battles they would be called to fight, they might be engaged against their own countrymen. The great proportion of those who have occupations, go to the church, as being more in conformity with their education, their dispositions, and the government that they obey.*

* Still somebody must have worked in Italy. I have a list of 1036 separate works, published from 1400 to 1793, for the most part in folio and quarto, treating of the popes, antiquities, cardinals, and ecclesiastical matters of Rome. There are also 245

Italian Palace.—The great Italian palaces are never opened except for a particular festival, when, for example, a prince of exalted name comes to the town, when an advantageous marriage of a child is about to be celebrated, when a cardinal is created from the family, and the anniversary of the day where one of the house has been made a Saint. On other days of the year you will find the vast corridors, halls, and galleries cold, dreary and desolate, cobwebs stretching along the gilded cornices and painted ceilings, and the rich marble tables and highly gilt chairs wrapped up in leather coverings, all abandoned to the numerous strangers who travel in Italy and pass much of their time in shivering and yawning in these palaces. But as a palace is not the least curious thing in this extraordinary country, I shall describe one somewhat more minutely. In the Servants hall there is usually a canopy, with the arms of the family emblazoned upon it. One commonly finds a few half-frozen servants in this hall, dirty, and dressed in liveries, evi-

works of a similar description, relating to the city of Bologna, and I scarcely know an Italian town, of a respectable size that does not possess several folios and quartos, discoursing about its remarkable things, and more especially its nobility. These works were generally published in the 16th century. *Bibliografia della città, &c.* in Roma, 1793, in 4to.

dently contrived like the ingenious coat of Gil Blas, warming themselves over a brazier. In the anti-chamber of Cardinal Gonsalvi, at the Quirinal, the two servants in waiting were both sitting cross-legged on a bench, and mending clothes—and I have seen in an anti-chamber of a princess a servant at work upon his stall as a cobbler, who got up, at our approach, to open the door. As to the general distribution, there are numerous small rooms with painted ceilings, cornices much gilded, marble tables supported by gilded angels, hydras, dolphins, panthers, chimeras and crocodiles, red velvet and silk chairs, also deeply gilt; but I have often seen that the back of these chairs was in the rude state of a common planed pine board, neither painted, gilded, or covered; but simply turned against the wall. At the same time the walls will be plastered with pictures, the court-yard and corridors lined with Roman emperors without noses, Venus', Minervas', Antinous', and Apollos', variously mutilated, sarcophagi found in the Appian way, and low reliefs of half the ages of the empire. The floors of these rooms are generally red tiles, without carpets, and one fire-place, upon an average, in five rooms, though I have been all over a cardinal's house without seeing a single fire-place; and I knew a Roman lady who never, in her life, had a fire in her palace.

I know no country where there is so much suffering from cold. The staircase is almost like a public street, except that it is deserted,—it appears to belong to no one, and it is certainly not the duty of any one to clean it.

The following is a list of the household establishment of the Doria Palace, the largest, though not richest family in Rome, allied to the celebrated Dorias of Genoa, and now, besides the Prince, its chief at Rome, possessing two cardinals, Anthony and George Doria Pamphili :

- 4 Gentlemen of the antichamber.
- 6 Servants of ditto.
- 4 Priests, having care of male children.
- 2 Women, having care of female children.
- 2 Wardrobe-keepers of anti-chambers.
- 1 Master of ceremonies.
- 6 Clerks of treasury.
- 3 Clerks of archives.
- 6 Chaplains.
- 3 Deputy-masters of ceremonies.
- 6 Wardrobe-keepers of whole house.
- 19 Servants of the hall.
- 7 Coachmen.
- 9 Men of stable.
- 2 Grooms.

- 8 Women of service.
- 9 Chambermaids.
- 1 Steward.
- 1 Deputy steward.
- 6 Pastry-cooks and confectioners.
- 5 Cooks.
- 4 Scullions.
- 1 Almoner.
- 2 Porters.

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All these persons sleep in the palace, but, including all those belonging to it, who sleep in the town the whole "gens" amounts to 523 individuals, reckoning the music, fencing, dancing, and other masters, as well as surgeons, physicians, dentists, apothecaries, &c. attached to the house for life, and who have a stipend whether they are in attendance or not. All these individuals assemble on festival occasions in state dresses. The Doria family possesses no legal authority beyond the simplest citizen of Rome. In the account of the Columbarium of Livia Augusta, there appears 139 distinct arts, services and professions, exercised and rendered by the freedmen and slaves of the family of the Caesars. At the death of the male

heir of the family of Colonna, there were fifty-six servants in livery in his palace, each receiving ten dollars a month, but maintaining themselves, except on those days when it was their term to wait at table.

According to the state of a prince of the first degree (only practised on days of great ceremony) such as Rospigliosi, Piombino, &c. there are four rooms of approach leading to the apartment of the head of the family; a hall for servants; an antichamber for valets de chambre; a third for gentlemen of honour; and a fourth for noblemen in waiting; the three first orders are paid.

The average wages of servants in livery is between six and eight dollars a month, and only chambermaids are allowed bread and wine; even cooks are supposed to maintain themselves out of the house. Many of these persons sleep in the lower corridors of the house, much as the ancient slaves used to do. It is not uncommon, also, in the less distinguished families, to give five or six dollars a month, and allow the rest to be supplied by *bono mano*. In the month of August, on the very day on which Octavius Augustus was born, at Christmas, and again at Epiphany, servants have the privilege of soliciting a small gift from all the acquaintance and dependents of the family. The birth day of the emperor, and

the Saturnalia, may perhaps have had a small share in the origin of these customs. Servants, too, seldom fail to come and see all strangers the day after they have been presented to the family, and the day before they leave the town. These practices are less neglected in Rome, Florence, and Naples, than in other Italian towns. Finally, they are but few families still sufficiently proud or rich to retain possession of the whole palace. With a few exceptions, they do not scruple to let portions even in lodgings. The first floor of the Rospigliosi palace, in the Corso, is now changed into a great coffee-house. An English baronet and an English colonel lived in different parts of the great palace of Lucien Bonaparte. Indeed, there is no more certain sign of the decline of the noblesse, both in France and Italy, than that the greater part of the magnificent inns and hotels now in those countries, should formerly have been the mansion-houses of noble families. These houses with the estates, were entailed, and all descended to the eldest son, unlike the great houses built by rich individuals, which a similar fate has sometimes attended in other countries, widely differing from Italy or France, and which fell a sacrifice, not in consequence of the poverty of the country, but owing

to the equal division of the property among a large family.

Society.—The magnificent theatre of La Scala, at Milan, and San Carlos, at Naples, resemble in a double sense, both a Roman circus and a Turkish bath. In the third circle of the La Scala, merchants may be seen every night holding a small exchange, and people have been seen playing at cards in a stage-box, while a tragedy of Alfieri was acting; there are others, again, who come regularly every night to eat their suppers publicly in their boxes. A foreign banker at Naples lived in apartments belonging to a count, who let his whole house, excepting the upper story, where he lived with a wife, three children, and two men servants in livery, in order to get money enough to keep a carriage to ride upon the Chiaja, and to own a box at San Carlos. Thus three or four hours of every night are passed in conversation, eating, and playing at cards. It is in vain, that the Pope and Cardinals are brought upon the stage to exhibit themselves in a *ballet, or that the old king of Prussia and queen Elizabeth were made to figure about last winter in songs and dances; the gestures and exclamations only cease for a few short mo-

* This happened at Milan in 1796.

ments when a prima donna comes forward to sing a favourite air.

*La Scala is divided into 150 or 160 cells, almost as ill-lighted and retired as those of a convent, but exceedingly neat and well furnished. Every one must be sensible to the great advantage of meeting there every night, with the utmost ease and absence of ceremony, almost every acquaintance one may happen to have in the whole town. It strikes me, that the advantage of such an intimate and domestic society with the natives of a country, is feebly compensated by splendid and crowded drawing-rooms, and by the hospitality of great dinners, which may instruct one well enough in the mysteries of entrées, and removes, but can inspire one with no very accurate or ample notions concerning the character and manners of the people. Again, at Venize, there are cells of a different description upon the palace of St. Mark, called casinos. Here the Italians meet, much for the same purpose as at the theatre.

* The opera is cheaper in Italy than in London. Each of the thirty boxes in the pit of the Haymarket cost 6000*l*. The yearly rent is 400 guineas; boxes of first and second circle rent for 300 guineas. Tickets are half a guinea; only twenty boxes in the theatre owned; yearly expense is 70,000*l*. Theatre open from January till the middle of August; Catalani received one season 9500*l*.

though they are less accessible to strangers. It is said that a deeper and less scrupulous debauchery exists in the casinos and gondolas of Venize, than in any other part of Italy.

"Ausa Palatino tegetem praeferre cubili."

At Florence, and more especially at Rome, the Italians may more generally be found in their own apartments, dreary, indeed, as they often are, without carpets, and without fireplaces, and where countesses have been known to carry a "**marito*" with them, and put it between their ankles in large companies. In these apartments you will find the women sitting upon sofas, wrapped up in shawls, or their feet covered over with woollen rugs, indolent, careless, and slovenly, utterly despising those artifices and contrivances and equally heedless of those charms and accomplishments, which the women of a neighbouring nation pass whole lives in learning and exhibiting. I have seen a lady of high rank, wearing a cashmere shawl and large diamonds, take out of a small pocket a dirty yellow cotton handkerchief, spotted with spots of snuff, and spitting upon it several times with great vehemence, deliberately fold it up, and put it back

* *Marito*, Italian name of a small earthen stove.

into her pocket. The husband is seldom at home, and the proportion of men is always much greater than of women. There is always on these occasions much music, and it is not rare to see six or eight men pass several hours alternately singing and playing upon a great piano forte, in a temperature where most transalpine people stand shuddering with cold, but at every new effort of the voice or the finger, the room resounds with "*bravissimo, bravissimo*," and from the movement of their eyes, arms, shoulders and whole bodies, particularly of the man who sings, it is quite manifest how little they heed the elements, and how totally their souls are absorbed in this beloved art. On extraordinary festivals, the women come dressed with singular magnificence, and it is not uncommon to be present in rooms where the jewels will be estimated at 1,000,000 dollars. These jewels have been entailed for centuries, and have undergone no other change than being occasionally new set.

I believe that those, who have had much intercourse with the Italians, know them to be an amiable and intelligent people, always disposed to bestow their best courtesies upon strangers in the manner of their country, and on all occasions distinguished by a simple and unaffected carriage and demeanor. I think

that it is in the power of the English to do much good to this interesting people; they are now numerous in Italy, and from their wealth, superior education, and greater energy and purity of mind and heart, may easily possess sufficient influence to bring into notice many of those comforts and excellencies of life, for which their own country is so justly eminent among European nations. Convents have diminished and degenerated, and knowing it to be a truth, that since the revolution, the French have become more domestic, and have followed more the practice of keeping parents and children together, the cause does not appear desperate for Italy, even now renowned for having possessed the "mother of the Gracchi," and the wife of Collatinus.

Marriage and Morals.—A princess of the family of Chigi, now fifteen years of age, is about to leave a convent for the first time for five years, and marry a Florentine Count, aged forty-six, whom she has never seen. All young ladies in Italy are not now married from convents, but the circumstances, under which marriages are made, have seldom more regard to feelings and proprieties than the above little incident. The history of that foreigner, who was miserably beset with the ambition of being allied to a Roman Patrician family, (an ambition that, perhaps, more

romantic men might wish to indulge, if they passed whole lives in reading upon the forms of schools, and would never take the trouble to come and see, that modern Roman Counts and Marquises little resemble ancient conscript fathers,) who negotiated during a whole winter in Rome, one may almost say with his Livy in his hand, was repulsed in three families, who probably thought by his fondness for the ancients, that he had been ill used by the moderns, and who, having at last succeeded in celebrating a marriage before the Flamen Dialis with his cake of salt, flour and water, fled back again across the Alps, truly fancying that he was carrying away in his post-chaise, the very blood and virtues of the Cornelias,—the history of that unhappy and bewildered foreigner, with his marriage and its disastrous consequences, is so much matter of gazette in Italy, that it is no disrespect to his restless manes to record it here.

The general dowry for princesses is from thirty to fifty thousand dollars, though P. Piombino gave eighty thousand to his daughter, married to Prince Altieri; the general one for smaller nobles is from ten to twenty thousand. This money is paid into the hands of the father-in-law, who makes a contract to allow his new daughter, if a princess, from forty to sixty dollars a month for private expences and chari-

ties, called, in English, pin-money, and if of a lower order, from twelve to thirty, though the old Princess Hercolani had only twenty-five; and the Princesses Piombino, Doria, and Barberini, are the only women in Rome, who have an allowance of one hundred dollars a month. The woman goes to live in her husband's family, where they all dine at the same table. There will be found, also, the mother in law; but the other male children of the family will generally be single, living all their lives upon their salaries, and those of the daughters, who are not already in convents, will sometimes disappear by marriage, but generally under the black veil. It is therefore manifest, that the family or fortune of an Italian nobleman will rarely increase. What a race, therefore, of idle and debauched bachelors, and it is from this race that come, in general, the conscripts for the "Cavaliere Servente," a practice by no means diminished in many parts of Italy. Some ingenious people may call this a remnant of the days of chivalry, and some charitable ones may regard it as beginning in the jealousy of the husband, who appointed a trusty friend to watch over and protect his wife, but I am afraid that at the present moment the "Cavaliere Servente" does little honor to the age of chivalry, and furnishes

little solace to the jealousy of the husband.*—He is the intimate friend and counsellor, "guardian and gentleman usher" of the wife. In the morning he "sets her slippers" and presents to her chocolate before she rises—he is present at her toilette, at her box in the theatre, in her carriage upon the Corso, sorts her cards at the card-table, accompanies her to the confession, carries her fan, book of prayers, and the little dog. "If she enters into a particular discourse with another person, the *cicisbeo* retires into a corner of the room with the lap-dog, or sits in the window, teaching the macaw to speak Italian"—nay, I have seen *Cavalieri*, who had consumed forty or fifty years in the service of one woman, and vaunted themselves as much on their fidelity and loyalty, as if their brows had grown hard and smooth under the helmet. In Genoa he is called "*Cavaliere patito*," suffering *Cavaliere*, because he is obliged to run through wind and rain by the side of the sedan chair in which the lady is carried. Old ladies are often attended by an old knight called *commedino*, and ladies that have no

* The following is the prayer of an Italian husband:
 "Signiore, vi prego che la mia moglia mi sia fedele;
 Se mai non la fosse, vi prego che io non lo sappia;
 Se mai lo sapessi, che non me n'importi un corno.

cavaliere are called "donna rustica." *In Shakspeare, servant is a common appellation for lover. There are many marriage contracts in which the name of the cavaliere is formally mentioned; this is done as much to protect the husband as to gratify the lady.

The Italian women have a great ambition to live in the capital towns, truly a most reasonable ambition, when one is acquainted with the dreariness, filth and poverty of the provincial ones. And they condescend to much intrigue and disgraceful conduct, in order to procure a post for their husbands where they can possess that advantage. It was accounted a negociation of precious skill in a woman married in Spoleto, who obtained from Cardinal Gonsalvi, the command of the Castle of St. Angelo for her husband.

† Young unmarried women read only small histories of their own country, a few lives of Saints, translations of the Arabian Nights, plays of Goldoni, Tasso, and works on religious subjects. Boccaccio, and works of that description, which rather abound in Italian, are seen only in the reading of married women.

* See, among other plays, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

† As to the ignorance of Italian women, Cagliostro, who pretended to be an Italian Count, said at the famous trial of Cardinal du Rohan (called *l'affaire du Collier*) that his wife, a countess, could not write.—No surprise was expressed.

But, after all, there is now, no doubt, more purity of conduct in Italy than before the French revolution. It is no great matter whether this is owing to the poverty of the nobility, or the influence of the French, who have not, however, been much celebrated for doing good to the morals of a people. Husband and wife indulge less in separate establishments, and it is no longer a remarkable or ridiculous circumstance, that they should be seen walking or riding together. We hear of no more cardinals who allow princesses a carriage, four servants in livery, and ten dishes for supper every night. Though it is true, that many carriages are still paid for both by old and new lovers, and agreements exist, by which women, and those, too, of high rank, are allowed so many servants, and so many ducats a month. An Italian woman of exalted station, only too infamous in Florence, but every where received in that town, had the audacity to pay wages of public infamy to a common courier, whom she at last dismissed with a present of 3000 dollars; and still the subsequent history of that woman is more disgraceful and unnatural. I have in my possession the names of four women, much advanced in life, who are guilty of a more atrocious vice than that described by Boileau under the name of "directeur." It is not matter of much

mystery, that two women at Rome are openly contending for the possession of a distinguished sculptor; and Albano is as famous for the debaucheries and assignations of the present nobility, as even the rugs of the Palatin in ancient times. A Neapolitan marquis said in the presence of seven persons, that he had been afflicted for six years with a disease, baptized by the French, Neapolitan, probably on account of the disasters suffered from it by a French army in that kingdom. He, his wife, and one child, were then in the highest state of salivation, but received company, and mention was made of their disorder, and questions were asked about their health, as if it had been only a case of common fever. This nobleman had been married fourteen years. But, apart from one's own private feelings, there are excellent reasons of public decency and propriety, why this hateful subject should not be continued farther. And, however numerous or disgusting may be the facts belonging to this portion of Italian morality, there is great consolation in being assured that such facts have diminished and do daily diminish.

Torlonia.—A prelate at his death left a considerable sum of money to a servant in his house, the father of the present celebrated banker, Torlonia. This servant soon after began a sale of silk goods at retail,

and there are those who recollect the present Torlonia, carrying patterns on his arm about the streets; but I believe that a bank was established before the death of the father, as the banking-house now bears the name of the father Marino Torlonia. In 1797, the French banker Haller, at that time Treasurer-General of the army in Italy, set up a press in Torlonia's house to print money; he sold 3,000,000 of this paper to Torlonia for 30,000 in silver, and with it Torlonia began immediately to buy estates, lands, &c. His first principal purchase was of Roma Vecchia, March 21, 1797, for 93,775 dollars, and containing 573 rubia. He received the investiture of this estate, and the title of marquis belonging to it, from Pius VI. This was the ancient *Pagus Lemonius; and it is a curious coincidence, that an Italian banker should be marquis of old Roma.

“Tantum aevi longinqua valet mutare vetustas.”

The purchase of Bracciano, with the title of duke, has been made within two years. He has also bought lately, for 40,000 dollars, a vast and splendid palace in the piazza di Venezia, in good order, and possessing many large glasses. This is reckoned

* Dell' antico Pago Lemonio in oggi Roma Vecchia, &c. da Gio. An. Riccy. in 4to. Roma. 1802.

about one-eighth of its value. One of his daughters is married to a count of the house of Marescotti. Three of his sons were taken to France as hostages by Napoleon, and obliged to live in military schools. The land in the Agro Romano, belonging to him, is certainly the best cultivated that I saw there, though his counting-house in Rome, notwithstanding that it is in a palace, is by far the dirtiest and least mercantile, that most people will meet in their travels. Whatever may be said of the usurious practices of this banker Duke, as to bills of exchange and other matters relating to travellers, it must be allowed that he is a person of great merit, and of great service to strangers as well as to the city of Rome. Formerly noblemen and corporations invested their money in the Monti di Pietà or Vaccabili; at present it is either deposited in the hands of bankers, or kept in iron coffers in their own houses.

Note.—It is not without example, that nobles who had arrived even to a cardinal's hat, have obtained permission from the Pope to quit the ecclesiastical state, and enter into marriage vows, in order to save a family about to become extinct by the death of all other male heirs. One of the Caraffa family, and Prince Belvedere, owner of the beautiful villa of Certosa near Naples, were both cardinals, but are now both married and have children. A curious discussion relating to this subject may be found in vol. 18 of *Causes Célèbres* under head of "Cardinal Marié."

CHAPTER XXIX.

* CULTIVATION AND POPULATION OF RICE GROUNDS.

Commission to examine into the salubrity of rice cultivation—their report—severe regulations of the French, concerning the cultivation of rice in Italy—Arthur Young mistaken as to profit of rice crops—statement from Gioja—curious statement to prove that population, employed to cultivate rice, always preserves it level—deaths more frequent, but births in greater proportion. White men as able to cultivate rice as black men.

IN 1816, a commission was appointed by the Roman government, at the request of the municipal authority of Bologna, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts, to examine into the wholesomeness of the rice fields in that portion of the ecclesiastical states. This commission made a report the same year, abounding in valuable medical,

* Even after 1400 rice was reckoned as a spice in Italy. It was first sown at the time, that the lands become uncultivated. Pier Crescenzi of Bologna, calls it *il tesoro di Paludi*. It was introduced into Tuscany in 1600. *Denina Riv.* vol. 4, p. 164. This subject is here introduced merely in reference to population.

statistic and hydraulic information. The following inferences result from that report. 1. That it is due to public health to abolish all rice fields in districts enjoying a good air, and that are suitable for a more wholesome cultivation, or where the villages and houses are not situated at a sufficient distance for safety. 2. That rice fields should be maintained only in those low, damp places, suitable for no other cultivation, at proper distances from human habitations, and in natural valleys,—the creating of artificial valleys for the purpose of collecting water being forbidden.

The French had previously published in various parts of Italy, particularly the kingdom of Naples, and the ecclesiastical states, decrees relating to the cultivation of rice. The following are the chief conditions upon which that cultivation was permitted. 1. The rice fields shall be watered by running water. 2. The petition, requesting permission to open a rice field, must contain mention of the precise spot where the field is situated—the extent of the field—the body and quantity of water that the cultivator proposes to employ. This petition must be posted up three weeks in the chief places of the canton, and an engineer, appointed by the prefect, shall repair to the spot and report as to

the soil and situation—at the expence of the petitioner. It is necessary to obtain permission as aforesaid, that the engineer reports that the spot can be appropriated to no other cultivation—that the inclination of the soil is sufficient to cause a constant and free circulation of water—that it is capable of being surrounded with a canal fit to receive all the water of irrigation, and to conduct it to a neighbouring stream—that the water shall be sufficient to keep the whole land constantly covered—that the rice field shall be situated at least fifteen hundred feet from the nearest habitation—three thousand from the nearest highway, and twelve thousand from the nearest village. By an old law of the Milanese, rice was not allowed to be sown within five miles of Milan.

The security and even policy of these laws, may be doubted, for there is good evidence, that land fit from natural humidity for the cultivation of rice, is more likely to produce diseases when uncultivated, though according to some authors the profit of rice is so great, that lands, without the interference of government, might be appropriated to that cultivation, which were well suited to other kinds. Arthur Young says, (vol. 2, page 238, travels during years 1787, &c.) that rice was reckoned to give four times

more net profit than any other husbandry, more even than watered meadows, and M. Chateauvieux says, that the value of rice is estimated at double that of an equal crop of wheat. These accounts are discordant in themselves, and differ widely from the results of the following table, made by Melchiorre Gioja, the first statistical writer of Italy, and an inhabitant, himself, of the Milanese, to which the above remarks refer, and to which also this table applies.

Days of labour.	Rice.	Wheat.	In the cultivation of
Man - - -	41 1-2	24	21760 square feet of land.
Woman - - -	16	2	
Plough with two oxen	4	7	
Cart with two oxen	1	2-3	
Horse - - -	2 1-2	2	

PRODUCE.

	Expenses.	Proceeds.	Net amount.
Rice in ploughing land	455.15 mil. *livres	750	294. 5
Rice in marshy land	356. 5 "	505	149.15
Wheat - - -	332. 4 "	510	207.15
Watered meadow	317. 9 "	630	312.10

In order to show the insalubrity of rice cultivation, I shall subjoin from the same author a table representing the movement of the population, so employed in ten departments of Lombardy, and of the movement of population in other parts of the department, but employed in dry cultivation.

* Milanese Livres are worth about fourteen cents each.

RICE CULTIVATION.

	Births.	Deaths.	Marriages.
Adige	1 in 20	1 in 26	1 in 88
Agogna	1 " 20	1 " 25	1 " 86
Alto Po	1 " 19	1 " 28	1 " 84
Bacchiglione	1 " 22	1 " 26	1 " 96
Brenta	1 " 21	1 " 27	1 " 83
Basso Po	1 " 20	1 " 25	1 " 88
Mella	1 " 20	1 " 26	1 " 81
Mincio	1 " 20	1 " 26	1 " 94
Olona	1 " 20	1 " 28	1 " 89
Sirio	1 " 22	1 " 26	1 " 82

DRY CULTIVATION.

	Births.	Deaths.	Marriages.
Adige	1 in 23	1 in 28	1 in 96
Agogna	1 " 23	1 " 29	1 " 96
Alto Po	1 " 20	1 " 30	1 " 90
Bacchiglione	1 " 23	1 " 30	1 " 103
Brenta	1 " 20	1 " 25	1 " 94
Basso Po	1 " 20	1 " 27	1 " 97
Mella	1 " 24	1 " 32	1 " 102
Mincio	1 " 23	1 " 29	1 " 98
Olona	1 " 21	1 " 26	1 " 90
Sirio	1 " 24	1 " 31	1 " 94

These two tables exhibit the following singular facts; first, that unhealthy climates give the greater number of births. Secondly, that nature constantly makes an effort to preserve the level of population. Indeed, the tendency to increase in the rice cultivation is a little more than in the dry cultivation, for the births are as one in 20 4-10 to 1 in 22 1-10, while the deaths are as 1 in 26 3-10 to 1 in 28 1-10. Gioja observes, that he does not possess materials to show

on what ages the mortality chiefly fell. This would be an important aid in determining the injury done by rice cultivation to society, for if the mortality falls chiefly on individuals grown to man's estate, the injury is much greater, inasmuch as it has cost more time and money to nourish the man to that age. The duration of the generation in this cultivation is about twenty-six years, while in other husbandry it is thirty. The true question, therefore, is to know, if the benefits derived from a rice cultivation are sufficient to remunerate individuals for a diminution of four years in every one of its generations. The amount of public service is still the same, for though the generations are shorter, they are more frequent.

It is also evident, that white men are quite as able to cultivate rice as black ones. Many parts of the south of Italy, cultivated with rice, are as unwholesome as any parts of the United States under the same cultivation. It therefore, ceases in fact to be an argument in favour of slavery, that blacks are necessary for that cultivation.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE ENGLISH IN ITALY.

Old caricature of English—modern one—English much imposed upon on the continent—causes—crowds of vulgar and ignorant English on continent—state of the English in Italy—numbers greatly exaggerated—English the only foreign nation in Europe—number from police books in holy week 1813—number from books of Torlonia—how many families, individuals—noble and not noble—more nobles than gentry can afford to travel—all Italian travellers noble—English may do much good in Italy.

SEVERAL years ago the French made caricatures of the English with large red noses, good-natured expressions, and guineas falling out of their pockets. At present an Englishman has a thin face, a half-gaiter buttoned tight upon a slender leg, a peaked nose, one hand holding his gold fast in his pocket; and he stands cheapening an article in the Palais Royal. The people on the continent tell you it is the fault of my lord, if the caricaturist has been obliged to alter the portrait but this is a question worthy of a Congress. It cannot be denied, that in 1814 the French innkeepers and shopkeepers fell upon and

plundered the English travellers in a way, of which the Cossacks had just set them an excellent example in their own persons; and it cannot be denied, that great extortions have been practised in succeeding years. On the contrary, it is equally true, that many English came to the continent with a great ignorance of foreign customs; they complained, that the staircases were dirty, that there were no carpets upon the brick floors, and with great want of judgment, they established a comparison at every step, with their own country. There are few matters, where the comparison would have been more to the disadvantage of the French, than on the score of inns. The French were poor, provoked, and for years, guineas and Englishmen have meant the same thing on the continent. Moreover, from the great caravans of travellers, the prices of all things, relating to travelling, had justly increased a considerable degree. Then again, many English left their own country for the sake of economy, and came abroad with the intention of making the hardest bargains possible. Vast numbers, also, went only as far as Paris, and came home through the field of Waterloo, little dreaming a few years ago, that any revolution could cause them to exchange their comfortable parlours and afternoon tea for the noise and dust of a French dili-

gence, and a stare at the Limonadiere of the Mille Colonnes. It was no longer the polite, polished, and accomplished only that travelled, but a whole generation, abounding in ignorance and prejudice, seldom creeping beyond a narrow street in the borough, or a provincial village in their own country, came sweeping along the road from Calais to Paris, ridiculing, cursing, and scolding, and appearing to possess no other idea and to know no other phrase in the language than "l'on ne fait pas comme 'ca en Angleterre." The well bred and well educated English must have been shocked and mortified at such conduct in the great proportion of their countrymen; and they ought not to have been astonished, that the great proportion of French soon lost all distinction between an *English gentleman*, of whose singular courtesy, excellent education, and virtuous and honourable conduct and character I speak on this occasion with great emphasis and delight, and those ignorant, insolent, and mean-spirited puppies and pretenders. I need not describe those persons more fully to my own countrymen, for the sort of individual that has brought down upon itself the constant reproach and ridicule and petty vengeance of the French, is well known in the United States. Thus it is that the circumstances under which the English

travel, and those under which the French receive them, are totally changed since the revolution. Having been upon the continent at an interval of four years before and after the English came there, I am certainly not ignorant of the wicked frauds practised in regard to them since 1814, but I am equally able to testify to the excellent feelings and disposition entertained by the French towards the English before that period.

X In the Italian towns, the English, together with the foreign ministers, form a distinct nation. In their assemblies, particularly at Florence, it often happens that not half a dozen Italians are present. They fill drawing-rooms, churches, picture galleries; and it is rare to travel a single post without meeting an English carriage. Indeed, it may well be said, that the only foreign nation in Europe is the English. An Englishman eats, dresses, walks, thinks, behaves and looks differently from the individual of any continental people. Whereas, a Russian, Italian, German, or Frenchman, bear some resemblance to each other in the fashion of their coats or hats, their manner of thinking and eating, and their notions of happiness, and of a good air and demeanor. I have put these matters down in great confusion, but still they will always serve to make the English a distinct people.

and to make people say that there have been 30,000 travellers of that nation at one time in Paris, and double that number in Italy.

All travellers travel very nearly the same road—see very nearly the same sights, and halt very nearly the same time in each town; so that he, who begins in the autumn with five hundred English at Milan, when he is about to quit Naples in the spring, having passed through Bologna, Florence, and Rome, may report beyond the Alps, that he has encountered two thousand five hundred English in Italy. The real exaggeration, however, has been greater than even the imagination of that traveller would lead one to believe. In the holy week of the year 1818, there were two thousand one hundred and seventy-six English on the police books of Rome, including men, women, children, and servants. This was certainly two thirds of all the English in Italy, because it is known, that travellers of all nations seldom fail to be present once at the holy week in Rome. So that the whole number of English at any one time in that country, may fairly be put down at about three thousand, which after all is an extraordinary number of travellers of the same nation, to find in the same week in so small a country as Italy. There is little doubt, however, that the number has diminished. The British

minister at Naples said, that in the winter and spring of 1816, he had known upon a monthly average four hundred families; but only two hundred in 1818. If the same proportion holds in other towns, and it would be likely to be over that proportion, for many English come into the north of Italy, and even as far as Rome, without reaching Naples, it would appear that the number has diminished about one half.

I had an opportunity, for which I am indebted to the great politeness of one of the partners in the house of Torlonia, of examining their books of arrivals and departures for one year. The following is the state of the English, from the 1st of October 1817, to the 1st of October 1818.

Arrived 108 families, being on an average in each family 3 1-2 individuals	}	378
Individuals - - - - -	-	508
*Servants not included in Torlonia's books, one for every two individuals	}	
1-4 only English - - - - -	-	110
		<hr/> 996

* That amount is little more than a guess, for many English travel with foreign servants, and it is only from observation that I have put down the proportion of those, who travel with any servant at all.

of the 108 families, 27 were either noble or with a title, of the 508 individuals, 52 only were noble or with a title.

By title are included those with a "Sir," or "Honorable." All the above named individuals have staid at least ten days in Rome, and at least one fifth should be diminished for names occurring twice. This result, therefore, of 798 individuals at the bank of Torlonia alone, and for the whole year, does not at all interfere with the statement of 2176 in holy week, from the books of the police, for as many come only for those ceremonies, it is probable that many do not enter their names on a banker's book. Add 400 English upon the books of Scultens, and all other bankers for the year abovenamed. There appeared on the books of Torlonia eleven families, and 129 individuals of all other nations. Foreigners, particularly of high rank, travel with more servants than the English.

In all Great Britain and Ireland, there is about one individual in every 600 of the population belonging to a noble, or a family with a title. Of the families in Rome, according to Torlonia's book, there was one person precisely in four belonging to a titled family, and of all other individuals one nearly in sixty. So that the vast proportion of titled persons, who can

afford to travel, is quite evident, and the proportion is still more favourable in regard to families, where more wealth and freedom from occupation are required. But if this account could be reversed, and as many Italians placed in England, it is most probable that not one in 200 would belong to a titled family. England is remarkable for the wealth of its gentry, distinct from its nobility, and indeed, excepting a small class in France, is the only country in Europe in which there is any gentry.

It is well known that the English have already done much good as to the cleanliness, comforts, and arrangement of Italian inns, and to the facilities of travelling of every sort. And without indulging in much fanciful speculation, it seems probable that so many intelligent individuals, going about a country and habituating themselves on all occasions to an entire freedom of speech, would by and by infuse a small portion of noble emulation into this slumbering, but powerful and highly gifted race. The example of 3000 freemen ought not to be lost upon a nation of such deep sympathies and original minds. Something too, may be gained for the ill-starred Italians, from the example of English domestic life—fewer unmarried women may be sent to convents, and fewer married ones may choose cavalieri serventi.

It may appear like indulging in more fanciful speculation, but according to the history and present condition of nations, it should seem that the domestic habits of the American and English people are now as necessary to the good support and continuance of private virtue and public liberty among them, as it was once important for their liberties, to insert in Magna Charta that no "scutage shall be imposed without the consent of the Common Council," or that "no freeman shall any ways be destroyed, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers," and that the same great doctrines should at a later period be inscribed upon the tables of American bills of Rights and Constitutions.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE BONAPARTE FAMILY AT ROME.

"Tibur Argeo positum colono
Sit meae sedes utinam senectae."

"Si vous êtes proscrits, c'est dans ces seuls remparts
Que vous pourrez trouver une sure retraite."

Charlemagne, a "poem," by Lucien Bonaparte. Chant. 19, v. 44.

What relations still in Corsica.—Tuscan Bonapartes of St. Miniato—Nicholas de Bonaparte—name in the manuscript spelt indifferently with and without the u—the father Charles, a most respectable man—daughters first called Marianna, Carletta and Annonciada—Napoleon's birth day changed, and for what reasons—never called Nicholas—present appearance and condition of the Mother at Rome—has given several sums towards the support of Napoleon—present fortune—anecdotes of Napoleon's youth—Lucien's opinion of his brother. Lucien—his situation and occupations—writes much poetry—anecdote of the printer Didot and police of Milan—his fortune—conduct of Lucien in 1815—goes to Paris—reads poetry to the institute—plans Champ de Mai—escapes to Boulogne and Dieppe—taken prisoner by Austrians—Secretary near being shot as a spy—confined four months at Turin—released upon several hard conditions—Fesch, a weak man—rich—fine gallery—Louis Bonaparte much beloved—fortune—writes a good deal both poetry and prose—preparations for a great epic—Pauline Bonaparte—dines upon imperial plate—12000 dollars a year—much visited by several Cardi-

nals and by all distinguished English—anecdote of a British nobleman and the French ambassador—all Bonaparte's under watch of police—amiable and sensible people.

THE families of Susini and *Ornano, now existing in Corsica, are first cousins of Napoleon Bonaparte, and the family Ramolini, is his second cousin. A captain Susini of the abovenamed family was an officer in the Corsican Rangers, organized and paid by the English after the overthrow of Pascal Paoli—and he is now attached to the staff of General Church, at Lecce, in the kingdom of Naples. There was also a lady of the name of Bonaparte, in Tuscany, married to a Buonacorsi, a short time before the French revolution, on condition that Buonacorsi, should take the name of Bonaparte. No children have been born from this marriage. There also lived in Tuscany, a Canon, uncle of Napoleon, with whom Joseph was educated. This canon was a man of great sanctity and devotion to the Romish church. When Napoleon was general in chief of the army of Italy, he wrote to him in order to persuade him to solicit the Pope to canonize an old priest of the family, celebrated for his virtues,

* The family of Ornano, appears to have been one of the most distinguished of the Island. See an account of Sampiero di Bastelica, who married Vannina, heiress of the house of Ornano, and was assassinated in 1567.—Boswell's Corsica, p. 79.

and who had died many years before in all the odour of holiness.

It was one of the Tuscan family, ancestor of the lady above named, who wrote "Ragguaglio Storico di tutto l'occorso giorno per giorno nel Sacco di Roma dell' anno 1517." It has been supposed that this Ragguaglio was written by *Benedict Varchi, a Florentine writer, and by others by Guicciardini, who is in truth, the author of a composition upon the same subject, but it was published at Paris, in 1664. I have however in my possession, a manuscript of this work of Bonaparte, written in the 16th century ;—it was in the library of Louis Bonaparte, at Rome. At the end of the manuscript is an address to the reader, setting forth that Jacob is the author of it, that this is the first copy made of it, that the original exists in the archives of the family at St. Miniato, and that the family of Bonaparte, of the above named city, (a small but ancient town about eight miles from Florence) is one of the most conspicuous of all Tuscany. There are no longer any traces of that family at St. Miniato. Mention is made with much applause of *Nicholas* de Bonaparte, and also of a tomb stone, in the Church of St. Miniato, with the following inscription. Clar-

* An account may be found of Varchi in Tiraboschi, vol. 7. p. 2. p. 282.

issimo suae aetatis et patriae viro Joanni Jacobi de Bonapart, qui obiit anno mccccxxxi. die xxv Septembris, Nicolaus de Bonaparte Apostolicae camerae clericus, fecit genitori bene merenti et posteris.

There is also a plate published in the Columbarium of Gorio, under the auspices of Ferdinand de Bonaparte, J. C. and vicar-general of St. Miniato. These facts merely suffice to prove that a respectable family of that name did once exist in that town, though no mention is made of such a family in the Senato Fiorentino of D. M. Mammi or any other work that I have had an opportunity of consulting ; neither does it appear that any relationship can be traced between this family and the Corsican one.

Whatever may have been the fact about the Bonapartes of St. Miniato, it is perfectly certain that the father of the Bonapartes of Corsica, Charles, was a man of great respectability, educated for the law at Rome, the particular friend of General Paoli, with whom he fought during the war of independence in Corsica, and with whom he was preparing to leave that island after the conquest of it by the French, but he was detained by his uncle, a Canon in Corsica and head of the family. He married, early, Letitia Ramolini, a person greatly celebrated for her beauty, of which undoubted traces remain to this moment. The

three daughters, born from this marriage, were named "Marianna," "Carletta," and "Annonciada," but Napoleon, made emperor, caused them to be changed for the more august ones of Caroline, Eliza, and Pauline.

Napoleon himself was really born the 5th of February, 1768, but subsequently he fixed his birth-day on the 15th of August, 1769, both because he wished to be regarded as a Frenchman, (and Corsica was not annexed to France till June, 1769,) and as Louis XIII. had put the kingdom under the protection of the Holy Virgin, whose festival took place on the 15th of August, Napoleon added his own name in the *calendar for that day, because he wished to be considered patron of the empire. It is also certain that his real name was Napoleon, though he has been called Nicholas, a mistake that may have originated from the name of the Tuscan Bonapartes already mentioned. There are two authentic documents to prove this fact, one the register of the guardian to the children at the death of the father, at Montpellier, February 24, 1785, and the other the act of his marriage with (1796) Maria Joseph Rose de Tascher Beauharnois, before Charles Theodore Francis Le

* Before the restoration }
the Calendar for 15th of }
August stood thus : }
 { Assumption.
 { Saint Napoleon.
 { Anniversaire du Concord.

Clerq. In both these documents he is called *Napoleon. As to the omission of the letter *u* in the first syllable of his name, for which so many ingenious reasons have been invented, the word Bonaparte, in the before-mentioned manuscript, is written six times without the letter "*u*" and only once with it, so that that circumstance was probably an accident equally with Napoleon, and the writer of that manuscript.

The mother, now living in a large palace upon the Piazza di Venezia, which she bought of the Queen of Etruria, with all its furniture, for twenty-two thousand dollars, one of the best bargains ever made in Rome, and which is the cleanest house I recollect to have seen in that city, appears to possess great amiableness and affability, speaks French with difficulty and with a bad accent, as well as Corsican Italian, and shews abundant marks of having been singularly handsome in her youth, though her face bears an expression of good-nature and simplicity rather than of intelligence and great understanding. When she came to Rome, it is said that she owned a deposit in the bank of Torlonia to the amount of a million of dollars; a circumstance by no means improbable, as she has been noted for good economy even in the

* Vide Salgues, vol. 1, p. 64

hours of her best prosperity. But from this deposit she has paid various sums towards the comfortable support of her son at St. Helena, and of her daughter in Hungary; these, together with other expenses, not within my knowledge, have reduced that sum to six hundred thousand dollars, for which an interest is paid of three per cent. "Madame Mère" has also succeeded in saving all her jewels, valued at five hundred thousand dollars, as well as her pictures, which are now in cases, and in the safe keeping of Tortonia.

I had several conversations with the mother concerning the young Napoleon, and I am quite satisfied that she recollects nothing distinctly of his youth. She, however, told me several short stories, already related numerous times, which she might possibly have dreamt after he became remarkable, and which possibly happen to half the boys in the world gifted with a studious disposition and reserved character. Once he did not come to dinner—she went to seek him, when he jumped up from his book and said, "pardon me, mother, I am reading, and want no dinner now, but be so good as to have some put aside in the pantry." Again, when he left the paternal house to go to the military school at Brienne, he was stout, fair, and of a good colour. Three years after the

mother went to see him, and found him lean, sallow, his eyes swollen, and his head sunk between his shoulders. The mother told such little stories with great cheerfulness and emphasis, and as sure prognostics of the extraordinary elevation of her son. One may hope that all mothers will not fancy, that an empire awaits every son who may sometimes give up a bad dinner for a good book, or come home pale and ailing from his college studies. But it is a perfectly authentic and curious anecdote of Napoleon, that on leaving the military school of Paris, the professor, M. l'Eguille, whose duty it was to prepare a short notice of each scholar, endorsed upon his certificate, "*Corse de nation et de caractère; il ira loin si les circonstances le favorisent.*" I have heard Lucien Bonaparte say that his brother, the Emperor, was distinguished by a remarkable love for mathematics—that he read a good deal of history, exhibited no remarkable talents in his youth, detested poetry, and the languages, and pretended to love Ossian because he had heard that Alexander loved Homer. But this is the judgment of an author who has himself written more lines than Homer and Ossian put together.

Lucien Bonaparte began to write poetry by translating the first canto of Tasso. On the 17th of August, 1810, he, with his family, embarked at Civita

Vecchia on board the American ship *Hercules*, provided at Naples for that purpose, having borrowed one hundred thousand dollars from Torlonia for this expedition, upon the guarantee of his estates, and the pope having given him and his wife letters for the king and queen of Sardinia. Forced, by a tempest, into Cagliari, they were soon after taken possession of by the British frigate *Pomona*—confined six weeks at Malta, where Lucien wrote the canto of Purgatory to his Charlemagne—in November, 1810, carried to Plymouth, conducted to the town of Ludlow, where boys threw stones at his children in the streets, and at last settled at Thorngrove, where Lucien put up the portraits of the Pope and his family, finished Charlemagne, wrote several odes, a tragedy called the Nephews of Clovis, and conceived another epic poem, which he has since completed, under the title of “*La Cyrneide*” or Corsica. Charlemagne has been translated into Italian by a gendarme named Cicilia, though never published. The translation of it into English is well known. An offer was made by Lucien to a son of Romanis, the bookseller at Rome, to translate the poem into Latin. The *Cyrneide* or *La Corse* (*Cyros* being Greek word for Corsica) is a continuation of Charlemagne. The great printer, Didot of Paris, being in Rome in the

spring of 1817, had frequent conferences with Lucien, concerning the publication of this poem. These conferences were made known to the police, who could imagine no other object in the negotiations of a printer and a Bonaparte, than a deep conspiracy against the holy alliance. Accordingly M. Didot, on his return, was arrested at Milan, and all his papers seized. The police officer, who probably had no remarkable knowledge of epics, and, moreover, seeing the word Corsica at the beginning of a large manuscript in folio, written in a small character, rejoiced greatly that he had at last gotten into his hands the secret and the entire proofs of those mighty machinations, that have disturbed Europe for thirty years. But those of deeper skill, having inspected the manuscript, found that it was only a poem, and sent it back to Didot as perfectly harmless. Madame Lucien had also written a poem in twelve cantos, called **Bathilda*, together with several plays.

* It is impossible to deny, that Lucien Bonaparte is equally distinguished by talents, manners, accomplishments, and appearance; and if he had had less ambition, or his brother less jealousy, he would doubtless have made one of the most eminent states-

* Since announced for publication.

men and princes in Europe. The estate of Canino, together with the title, cost 200,000 dollars; he also owns Tusculum, where he has made many excavations, and sold an Antinous and a Minerva Medicea, there discovered, for 15,000 dollars. In the chapel of this house, at Tusculum, named in the inscription over the gate, "Villa Tusculana;" and it is difficult to think of a word which bears more agreeable associations, he has erected a tomb to his father Charles, another to his first wife, and a third to a little boy, called Joseph Lucien. For reasons not becoming to mention, but which had much to do with the inheritance of the Italian crown, the emperor sent two senators to congratulate Madame Lucien on the birth of this child.

The following is the account of one of the parties concerned, of the celebrated conduct of the prince in 1815. When the arrival of Napoleon in France was known in Rome, Lucien, accompanied by his secretary and the father Maurice, went to Switzerland, where he remained for some weeks in a small house upon the lake of Geneva. During this time, he saw no one but Madame de Stael. The friar was sent forward to Paris; and after much delay and difficulty, negotiated a treaty with the emperor, by which the states of the Pope were guaranteed to him in all

events. When this treaty had been received and forwarded to the Pope, Lucien went to Paris and was lodged in the Palais Royal in great splendour. There began that system of homage and adulation, for which the French are justly so remarkable, and into which they plunge without thought or scruple, at any change of the cockade. He received a hundred letters a day, expressing profound admiration for him; the great statesman, poet, and philosopher; the hope of the liberty, honour, and peace of France. The Institute, in particular, heard with great complacency a long poem concerning Homer, which the prince condescended to read at one of their meetings, though a few years before many members of this very Institute had had the base and hateful indecency to oppose answering a letter, in which Lucien, then in exile and disgrace, had made an offering of Charlemagne to the library and solicited the counsels and criticisms of his brother Academicians. He proposed and arranged the Champ de Mai, the idea of which was taken from his Charlemagne, and recommended to the Emperor the dress of the national guards as a suitable costume; but the emperor insisted to the last moment in going in imperial robes, and Lucien, having no prince's embroidered coat, was forced to have a white taffeta cut for the occasion. He was

opposed to the campaign; but after the overthrow, he urged the emperor to place himself at the head of the army under Paris, or to leave France immediately for America. At this time, Fouchet offered him in person the head of the provisional government. At length Lucien, protected by a passport from Fouchet, in which he was styled "Commissary on the Sea Coast," under a false name set out from Paris in an imperial calèche with his secretary, going for Boulogne, intending to embark for England. At Boulogne, it was found that no communication was permitted with that country, but by the aid of money and his passport, a packet-boat was hired and fitted to sail. The prince at dinner was observed to be in deep meditation, and at last broke out into an exclamation, that he would not go to England; that he recollected his sufferings in that country, and that he might be made a prisoner there for life.

They immediately left Boulogne, evidently without any particular plan, but near Amiens they were stopped by an officer on the road, who recognised Lucien, and informed him that Amiens was full of English and royalists. Accordingly the prince was forced to turn about and ride for Dieppe. In that town he observed great numbers of persons in the streets, who took particular notice of the imperial

arms on the calèche, and at the inn assembled in crowds about it. The landlord, suspecting them to be run-away dukes or marshals, and having often practised the French morality of taking advantage of all changes in affairs, represented to them the impossibility of leaving the town in that calèche, as the inhabitants had become remarkably royal, and offered to sell them an English travelling carriage that an English lord had left, in a great hurry, in his stable-yard at the time of Napoleon's return. The result of the bargain probably was, that the landlord sold a carriage, which did not belong to him, and bought another for about one tenth part of its value, which, it must also be confessed, did not belong to Lucien. As it was, they were obliged to go out of the town on foot at three o'clock in the morning;—and then determined to return to Rome. They travelled with perfect success, and escaped all out-posts, as far as the neighbourhood of Lyons. Here they fell into the midst of an advanced squadron of hussars, and were made prisoners. The secretary was carried to head-quarters, where he showed the passports from Fouchet. The general in chief, Count Bubna, very naturally asked him what a commissary on the sea coast had to do near Lyons, in the department of the Ain, and without more ado said, "Sir

you are a spy of Fouchet, and shall be shot in twenty-four hours." The secretary was much disconcerted at this remark, and probably felt infinitely like the French consul, described in the Anti-Jacobin :

VIII.

"The dey then gave his orders
In Arabic and Persian,
Let no more be said
But bring me his head !
These *Clubs* are my aversion."

IX.

The Consul quoted Wicquefort
And Puffendorf and Grotius,
And proved from Vattel
Exceedingly well,
Such a deed would be quite atrocious."

In this embarrassing situation the prince directed Mr. de Châtillon to declare his real name, in private, to Count Bubna, and that his real purpose was to go to Rome. This declaration saved the life of the secretary, and he and his master were immediately sent to Turin under the escort of an aid of the general. The prince was confined in the castle of that town four months, and then allowed to return to his family in Rome upon the guarantee of the pope and the pledge of his own honor, that neither he nor any one of his family would leave that city without the con-

sent of the four allied powers. Two applications to go to America have been refused within eighteen months.

Cardinal Fesch is said to have thirty-six thousand dollars a year, chiefly in bank stock. He has a good palace at Rome, and an uncommonly valuable gallery of pictures, which he has long tried to sell. He is accounted a harmless man, but possesses no great consideration either for learning, talents, or liberality of spirit.

Louis Bonaparte, known by the name of the Count de St. Leu, though he is often called "majesty" in conversation, and was so styled in the letter of the pope, giving him leave to live in Rome, is really much esteemed for his good-nature and upright respectable conduct. He has lately bought a splendid palace in the Corso, with all its furniture, for eighty thousand dollars. He collects books and maintains, at eighteen dollars a month, and a cover at table, a secretary of affairs, another of belles lettres, a third of correspondence, and a fourth for miscellaneous matters—also a librarian, two chamberlains, and two priests to superintend the education of his son.—Mass is said every day in his private chapel, which his son Napoleon is sometimes obliged to serve. This boy said one day that it was an extraordinary sight to see a young Napoleon serving a priest at the altar. He is

the eldest son, about fifteen years, the others being with the princess in Germany. He is called prince, and receives twelve lessons, of an hour each, every day. Louis owns two hundred thousand dollars in the funds of Vienna; he has also property in those of Berlin, and he holds lands in the ecclesiastical states to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars, which he exchanged with Eugene Beauharnois for a hotel in Paris, since sold to the Prussian government. Louis is an industrious man; he has written the history of his reign in *Holland. A learned man of Rome has prepared for him all the materials as to dates and facts for a great poem relating to Cyrus.

He has also published a novel, translated with his permission into several languages, called *Maria ou les Hollandais*.

"Soudain tout a changé. Marie, hélas ! n'est plus ;
Un beau jour la reçut et la vit disparaître.
Oh ! vie ! oui, tu deviens méprisable pour moi
L'erreur est dans tes biens, fragiles comme toi.
Marie ! hélas ! n'est plus ; je n'ai plus rien à craindre."*

* Since published.

† Extract from a collection of odes, printed but not published, and written at different periods by L. B. They are generally upon plaintive subjects, such as the "Village Church Yard," the "Death of Maria," "The Exile," "Moonlight," "The

Lastly, the Princess Pauline, whose real name is Annonciada, married the 6th of November 1803, to Prince Camille Borghese, lives in apartments in his palace at Rome, upon an income from the prince of 12000 dollars. She possesses little property beyond the jewels saved in the last great overthrow, and which are said to be of great value.

She dines upon plate marked with the imperial arms, keeps splendidly bound books upon her tables, stamped at every edge and corner with an imperial N or eagle, and upon the walls of one of the drawing-rooms are hung the portraits of her brother the emperor and her husband, by Gerard, and of her brothers, the ex-kings of Holland, Westphalia, and Spain. The princess is much visited by the Cardinals Somaglia, Rivarola, Albano and Fesch, and by all distinguished English. The story is well known, of a British nobleman of high rank and ancient blood, who, having sent to the hotel of the French minister at Rome to inquire, why he was refused admittance on the night of a levee, was answered, that the intimacy in which his lordship was pleased to indulge in

"Regrets," &c. Most of them have a motto from Horace. The last ode is an adieu to Lausanne, in which the royal poet makes the same allusions to the distinguished personages, who have resided in its neighbourhood, that a noble one has done.

the house of a member of the Bonaparte family, forbade his being received under the roof of a public minister of his most Christian Majesty. The subsequent conduct of this nobleman well became an honourable and independent man, and M. De Blacas d'Aulps soon discovered, that he had been as little successful in dictating to noblemen of foreign nations in what drawing-rooms they should visit, as in making a concordat for his own.

All the Bonapartes at Rome are under the guardianship of the police, and cannot leave the city without the permission of the Pope, guaranteed by the permission of the ambassadors of the four allied sovereigns. The first year that Pauline was at Rome, she asked permission to go the baths of Lucca. The application was made too late in the season, but the second year she received permission to go there, *attended by an officer*. "Well," she replied, "I am much obliged to the ambassadors, the officer will serve to protect me against the robbers." All the members of the family, except Lucien, visit each other daily, and appear to have a great regard and affection for each other. They are certainly amiable and sensible people, well exercised in the customs of the world, and there are no houses in Rome in which strangers are received with more kindness and hospitality.

Note.—This chapter was written before it was known in this country that the work of Louis Bonaparte, mentioned above, had been announced for publication. I have had an opportunity of seeing only the account of that work in No. 28 of the North American Review, and though a similar reference appears to be made to the manuscript of St. Miniato, I have not thought it necessary to suppress the details I have myself taken from that manuscript. At the time that manuscript came into my possession from the library of the Count St. Leu, no mention was made that it had been consulted for the purposes of publication, a circumstance for which there was even little cause of suspicion, in the fact that the owner, an author, and a Bonaparte too, had not thought necessary to retain it.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

INFLUENCE OF THE AUSTRIANS IN ITALY.

THE Archduke Reinier born in 1783, and fifth brother of the Emperor Francis, is viceroy of the *Lombard Venetian kingdom, containing in 1813, a population of †4,121,560 inhabitants, being in the

* This does not include the Illyrian provinces now called Kingdom of Illyria. It has often been said erroneously in public prints, that those provinces formed a part of the above named kingdom. The Illyrian kingdom now consists of the governments of Lubiana, and of Trieste, or "il Littorale Austriaco"—the dutchies of Carinthia and Carniola, and the Croat Circle of Carlstadt.

† Mayer's map calls the population of the Lombard Venetian Kingdom 4,065,000, according to the treaty of Vienna, but I know not upon what authority, as no enumeration of the inhabitants has been made since the overthrow of Bonaparte. The basis of the French conscription of 1812, was 4,290,000—that was thought excessive. The number in the text is taken from "Saggio di una Statistica dell' Impero d'Austria da Bar. di Lichtenstern—Milano in 8vo. 1819." A work that contains a few general statements (mostly by approximation) of the population, military, agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of the Austrian Empire beyond the Alps. Excepting the detail of population, the statements about the Lombard Venetian Kingdom are very few, and of little value.

proportion of about 5000 inhabitants to a square mile. The archduke is a man of great knowledge of politics, and is well known in Germany for having several times administered with remarkable success the Austrian government during the absence of his brother the emperor.

There are now 25,000 Austrian troops distributed over the Lombard Venetian Kingdom, and, in relation to the other portions of the peninsula, they act in the capacity of the army of occupation in France, after the peace of 1815, to hold kings on their thrones, and to arrest all those who may cry out "vive la charte." This is the real duty, that in the course of events has fallen to the Austrian army stationed in Lombardy. It stands at the foot of the Norric and Rhetian Alps, with the vast resources of the great Austrian Empire just in its rear, ready at the first political commotion, to burst like an avalanche from the side of the mountain, and to spread itself to the last and lowest shore of the Peninsula. It is impossible that this force can at *present* be resisted. Since the battle of Pavia, the Germans have never had an equal share of power in Italy, and besides their own wealthy and extensive possessions, they have a brother at the head of the Grand Dutchy of Tuscany, no despicable ally on the score of resources or facilities of communication.

and a daughter at the head of the Dutchy of Parma and Placentia, so that, in truth, about one half of this rich and populous land is under the active and immediate administration of Germans. Neither are brave French armies, led by gallant and high spirited cavaliers, any longer seen descending the Pennine or Maritime Alps, to tilt whole summers with the imperialists on the spacious plains of Lombardy—upon that magnificent list formed by the Alps and the Appenines.

The Austrians at last are thus left in possession of the Citadel of Mantua, standing like the centinel of the whole land, and of that celebrated and precious Lombardy, moistened by more frequent and deeper pourings out of human blood than any region in the world, beginning from the battle of Trebbia, won by Hannibal, and ending with the battle of Trebbia, won by Suvoroff—a country from which 8,500,000 dollars in specie, the fruits of different taxes, are annually carried off in waggons to Vienna—that supports their cavalry at a small expense, and where they have taken care to *employ no civil officers but Germans and Italians, devoted to German ascendancy.

* It was often said at Milan, that the best Italian officers and regiments had been sent from Italy into the distant transalpine parts of the Austrian empire, and that Hungarian and other

It is therefore difficult to conceive that the Austrians should be unable to march to Naples, *in the course of the year*, if they saw the policy or necessity of such an undertaking. They would have to do with a people divided within themselves, without any true love of their country, and with a great ignorance of its interest, without spirit and enterprize, and at present not possessing any chief of sufficient talents and consideration to unite twenty thousand men at his head quarters. In Italy there is no country, and the word Italy is never heard there. It is Bologna, Milan, Florence, Rome or Naples—these are separate countries, struggling with opposite interests, tainted by jealousies, enmities, and envyings, and in reality as little prepared for union and mutual aid and protection, as any two states that have passed through the changes of peace and war with each other for half a dozen centuries. The Italians have always fallen victims to their own dissensions, never to the force of foreign armies. There is then but one danger that attends

regiments had been marched into Italy. I know not what may have been done with the general officers, but according to an official statement of the stations of Austrian regiments in 1818, it appears that only two Italian regiments had been sent beyond the Alps, four foreign ones marched into Italy, and that fifteen Italian regiments were still stationed in Italy.

the Austrians, a danger that attends the approach of all invading armies—a sudden and vehement enthusiasm in the people. They may rush to defend and repel as the Spaniards and Prussians have done. But it can only be said, that the Italians have shewn no such enthusiasm, perhaps, for two centuries, certainly none since the year 1796; though it must be confessed that the history of the world proves every day that this habit of judging by the past is truly hazardous and erroneous—the Carbonari and other “independents” failed to take advantage of the disturbed state of Italy, in 1815, during the retreat of Joachim Murat, when every thing was favorable to the establishment of new and liberal governments.—I do not know of a single instance in the last campaigns, where an Italian rose of his own accord and patriotic impulses to thrust out the French, as the Prussians did to the last man—and the conduct, appearance, and condition of the people latterly have betokened no such noble and high-born passions.

One would think that it would require many years of excellent government utterly to do away that hatred to other Italian states, and that sluggishness about the concerns of their own, and to teach the Italians properly to value and to defend their coun-

try. It is not sufficient to love one's country, because it has been the scene of half the epic poems, and the birth place of half the demigods, heroes, poets, orators, and statesmen in the world—one ought to love it for its present comforts and protection. But we do wrong in supposing that the Italians can be made in one year, nay, even, in a score of years, wholly worthy of that country to which so many great associations belong, and worthy, too, of enjoying and maintaining that free, constitutional form of government, which every friend to the happiness and better civilization of his fellow creatures, and to virtuous liberty and independence, ought to pray to heaven, might descend upon the suffering and degraded inhabitants of the despotic portions of Europe. It requires a searching and unsparing political purgatory, to cleanse and properly purify such foul diseased subjects for this exalted and refined state of existence.

But Austria has no power in Italy, beyond the reach and number of her bayonets—no power of opinion as the French had in the beginning, when they contrived to plant the tree of liberty in all the market places; they have no intercourse or sympathies with the people—they are honest and good natured, but they are endowed to a rare degree

with those qualities, known contemptuously in Italy under the name Teutonick. They march over this classical and refined land with a heavy foot step, a cold, repulsive, unmeaning mien and look, and the foreign yoke is not relieved or made less grievous by any variety or sprightliness of conduct or carriage. Italians still say with a sigh, that at the very moment when the unhappy conscripts were driven away like malefactors from their homes, the French soldiers, sent to guard them, would throw off their knapsacks and spend their last denier regarding the girls of the village with dances and low wines. But such things are merely pleasant dreams of the imagination. Doubtless, the French in their time were as much detested as the Austrians now are ;—they offered great violence to the religious institutions of the country, and oppressed the inhabitants greatly by frequent requisitions and changes of government. Besides, it might be no great relief to the fathers and sons for the loss of the conscripts, that wine and dances were given to their daughters and mistresses by gay French soldiers. And after all, such trifling courtesies are but small remunerations for having one's children torn away, and for being harrassed and worn down by persecutions, tyrannies, and vexations of all sorts.

The spirit of the Austrian people is in perfect harmony with its government, and that people and its government, together with the Russian, (the spirit of the Prussian people being opposed to its government,) are now the only two great potentates of Europe, that do not partake of, and are, in truth, opposed to the spirit of the age.

They are now the only two "anti-constitutional," and if they remain inactive and heedless, while the other states are passing through the present slow but sure and bloodless reforms, it will not be long before they are called the only two barbarous nations of Europe.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CONCLUSION.

"Ogni rivoluzione lascia l'addentellato per un' altra."
Machiavelli.

THE Lion of St. Mark, at Venice, held an open Evangelist, upon which was written:—

"Pax tibi, Marce, Evangelista mea."

The populace, in 1797, effacing these words, substituted the following ones in Italian:—

"Rights of man and of the citizen."

Upon which a gondolier said pleasantly enough, that at last the lion had turned over the page. This expression of the gondolier is a full and exact commentary upon the history of the last half century. The people have at length turned over the page.

In Italy there has been no true and thorough quiet and contentment since that day towards the close of the last century, when the French revolutionary armies crossed the Alps. From that moment to the one in which we are now writing, there have been in

the different portions of that magnificent country, uneasiness, dissatisfaction, and sedition, both in word and deed. And it has mattered little, whether the sway was legitimate or revolutionary; whether Cardinal Ruffo was proscribing at Naples, or the accoucheur Angelucci at Rome; whether the populace of the city of Milan were writing upon the houses of the nobles, "*maison à vendre ou à demolir*;" or whether the nobles of the same city were plotting a second Sicilian vesper; whether priests and mountebanks were dancing hand in hand round the tree of liberty at Bologna; or whether a republican *prince was hung at the yard arm of a frigate in the bay of Naples by the command of a British admiral. In the midst of these contradictory and extraordinary acts and scenes, embracing a period of twenty-four years, the whole and undoubted history has been, that Italy has constantly struggled with two deadly factions upon the face of her fair land, reform and legitimacy alternately being uppermost, and that neither party, no, not even in those brilliant days of the French dynasty preceding the campaign of Moscow, has established itself with sufficient solidity and permanency to overcome every disposition to revolt and commotion.

* Vid. Mr. Southey's admirable life of Nelson, vol. II. p. 50.

The French left in Italy, in disgrace and poverty, nobles enough to cause a revolution; and the old governments restored in 1815, have neglected and abandoned brave officers, who had served with honor in French armies, and been decorated with French crosses; men picked out of all Italy as the force and flower of the whole population, thought worthy of riding in the lists with the best knights in France, and nourished and sustained by the sentiment, that the glories, decorations, and profits of battles are conceded but to those, who fight hardest and bleed deepest; a sentiment that has never failed to distinguish French armies since the revolution, and has contributed in no niggardly degree to the remarkable successes that have attended them;—these men, in some countries of Italy, were required to lay aside their crosses of the legion of honor, or of the iron crown or of the two Sicilies, and in most countries received permission to leave active service on half pay—a measure that often subjected them to want or mortification; or were sent into small garrison towns, a polite phrase, equivalent to the French one, “**l’air de ce pays-ci ne vous convient point* ;” or were thrust into stations in regiments of the line of the most ordi-

* Vid. letter of Duke of Rovigo to Madame de Staël, dated Paris, Oct. 3, 1810.

nary service, where, being a soldier of tried courage and known experience was unaccountably the poorest recommendation; but where every week brought a feeble and delicate youth over their heads, drawn hastily from a military school, or prematurely from the shelter of the paternal palace. Most assuredly these men will take no small share in that wonderful revolution which now appears to be marching over Europe, as victory, in the language of proclamation, marched with Napoleon from Elba to Paris—at the “*pas de charge*.” The legitimate sovereigns have chosen to take upon themselves the risk of neglecting such men.

Still, it is no favourable symptom of the condition of a people, that revolutions should be achieved as have been those of Spain and Naples. When colonels of regiments hold it in their power to set up or pull down kings and constitutions, little more proof is wanted that the people are ignorant of their rights, and heedless of the fate of the country. True, it may be, that those colonels have only taken advantage of the sentiment of the times, of which an illustrious example may be quoted from English history; of that fact, the best proofs are the moderation and forbearance with which that advantage has been used, and these circumstances ought to be a suffi-

cient consolation to those, who dread the evils of such a precedent, if any thing can be called precedent to men with arms in their hands; or if that precedent need to be excused, that has set the fairest example of humanity and good government. It was once thought, that none but sages and statesmen could organize and secure constitutions, but now it requires only a regiment of soldiers to raise their caps in the air on the points of their bayonets, and to cry out a constitution in the fashion of England or a constitution in the fashion of Spain; just as if it was a great national medicine, newly invented to heal all state wounds; and straitway a cortes is assembled, or a vicar-general is appointed.

Again, in the very act of overthrowing a wicked and absolute government, the most depraved and degraded people will be inspired with a certain degree of freedom of thought and action. The populace of Madrid and Naples cannot go long about the streets shouting "long live the cortes," "long live the constitution" without persuading themselves, in the end, that they really are free.—But this is the effect only on the imagination, and of little lasting service, unless that same cortes shall set about to remove unjust and unequal taxes—to offer to the people a right to vote for representatives—to educate the people, and

to suffer no priest to remain among them, who is, himself, without education. There is no true liberty without good instruction.

The world has seen what a martyrdom the French nation has been forced to go through to arrive even at its present degree of partial and precarious liberty. But nations now start upon that course under better auspices, and with fairer and better defined hopes and objects; they have not now got to begin a revolution—some part of the great European reform is accomplished—the vast fortunes and privileges of nobles and ecclesiastics are either properly diminished or utterly abrogated—a method has been invented of teaching a whole village even by the nod of the schoolmaster, and of converting even the scholars into instructors;—the safest agent of a reasonable and salutary reform, and most able to counteract the vile and dangerous disorders that often proceed from revolutions—in the last place, the people, for thirty years, have been making efforts to be free.

It will have been seen, from facts and remarks to be found in the course of this work, that a real reform was begun in Italy long before the French revolution; but no mention has yet been made of the ameliorations introduced by the Austrians into Lombardy, particularly as it relates to the confiscation and sup-

pression of ecclesiastical properties and privileges. Till that revolution, this reform was kept in the hands of the governments, but at the time of that revolution it came into the hands of the people, and though they have suffered much oppression in the interval, and were cruelly deceived by French agents and generals, the spirit has not been entirely overpowered, and it now seems to be coming out with a force and firmness hardly to be resisted for many years even by Calmuc lances or Hungarian bayonets.

A confederacy of sovereigns was formed at Pilnitz in 1793 against the French revolution ;—it should now seem that a similar confederacy was about to be formed against a universal revolution.—But, in fact, the first symptom of that confederacy may be found in a union of sovereigns that took place at Paris, September 26, 18 5, and now known under the name of the Holy Alliance. That alliance threatens to check all valuable progress towards a higher state of freedom and civilization, though the parties may have been very sincere in declaring, that they take for the rule of their conduct, whether in the administration of their own dominions or in their political relations with all other states, no other than the “precepts of our holy religion, and the precepts of justice, forbearance and charity.”—No holy alliance, no family pact can

be favorable to the liberty of the people, and the opinions, which have been expressed* in public docu-

* I refer particularly to the pamphlet of Mr. de Stourdza, an accredited agent of the Russian government at the court of Dresden, as well as the order given to Mr. de Kotzebue to furnish the emperor with an account of the moral and political state of Germany. *—“Public irritation was excited on the appearance of Stourdza’s work, which spoke of Germany and its institutions in a way which no people could endure from a foreigner.”—The mad act of Standt will be regretted as much by the friends of constitutional reform as by those of humanity.—Such acts give a shock to the moderate, virtuous, and intelligent part of the people, without whose aid it is in vain to look for any real and lasting improvement. The first drop of blood that falls to the ground, from whatever veins it flows, will recall to their minds the horrors of the months of August and September, of the guillotine and the committee of public safety. It is not to be expected that individuals possessing virtuous feelings and good sense will vote for a reform upon such conditions. And it is precisely those individuals that now constitute the best guard for the peace and domestic tranquillity of Europe. While there is danger of blood-shed and commotion they will take part with government. They will take part only with those reformers, who propose practicable and reasonable objects. Circumstances have fortunately made that class very numerous, and it cannot be doubted that all good reform that Europe shall arrive at, will be owing to those individuals. It is not out of place to say here, that the Emperor of Russia has guaranteed the new constitution of the kingdom of Wirtemberg in order to secure it against the interference of the greater powers of Germany. This guarantee is little consistent with his own manifesto and the notes of his ministers.

* See “Germany and the Revolution,” a pamphlet by Professor Goerres, late editor of the Rhenish Mercury. The pamphlet was suppressed by the Prussian government, and the author obliged to fly.

ments by the accredited agents of the Emperor of Russia, proclaim with great emphasis, that his imperial majesty has no doubt of the justice of German governments, that their subjects are already in the enjoyment of as much liberty as is reasonable or salutary, and that all disposition to revolution or innovation ought not to fail to awaken the severest animadversions of sovereigns.—Doubtless there is much that is bad and dangerous in the present feeling of the German people, but it ought not to belong to Poles, Cossacks, Tartars, and Russians, to come and regulate the liberty of their press or their other civil and political rights.

It is evident, moreover, from the following state papers, the heads of which I am about to quote, that the German governments, under the influence of Prussia and Austria, have thought it necessary to direct their **“particular attention to the spirit of inquietude and fermentation which has finally shewn itself in seditious writings, criminal plots, individual crimes, and atrocious acts of violence,”*—still farther evidence of the system of opposition, that the sovereigns have and will continue to set up against every indication of reform, and which may be mentioned without impro-

* Proposition of the President of the diet at Frankfort.

priety, as that system doubtless will eventually embrace Italy.

1. Proposition of the president to the diet sitting at Frankfort.

2. Edict of censorship for the kingdom of Hanover.

3. Prussian edict of censorship.

4. Provisional decree in relation to the universities.

Independent of the dissatisfaction that has lately been expressed in a variety of forms in the German universities, a political club has been formed called the “*Burschenschaft*” or “*general society of youth*”—It is well known that there formerly existed in all German universities clubs called “*Landsmannschaften*” or societies of young men of the same nation. Those societies have been organized into the great one above-named. In the memorable crusade of years 13 and 14, the students of all the northern German universities marched in a body against the French. Few acts of greater devotion, enthusiasm, and patriotism, are on record. That act has both given remarkable influence to the universities, and created a remarkable spirit of union in Germany.

5. Decree relating to the measures for prosecuting the abuses of the press.

6. Decree relating to the inquiry concerning “*Revolutionary Plots.*”

7. Lastly, circular of the Prussian minister, M. de Bernstoff, to all diplomatic Prussian agents at foreign courts.

These several acts show clearly enough the dispositions and preparations of governments. It remains to be seen how far they will retard or divert the impulse and tendency of the times. "Ce n'est pas la coalition, qui m' a détrôné. Ce sont les idées libérales."*

* Words attributed to Napoleon on leaving France.

APPENDIX.

*APPENDIX, No. I.

PIEDMONT.

Government—new code to be found—religions—what sects tolerated—convents—prisons—finances—debt at time of French revolution—great amount of paper money—how paid—exact budget for 1818—consequences of such great expenditures.

GOVERNMENT.†—When the king came back in 1814, he said to his subjects, “My children, since I left you, I appear to have slept; it has been like a long dream.” At the return of Napoleon in 1815, some one wrote on the gate of the palace, “sleep, majesty.”

The king began his reign by abolishing on the 31st of May of the same year all the French laws, and by establishing the code of 1770, called *Leggi e Costituzioni di Sua Maesta*. This code revives and confirms all those feudal rights and privileges that existed in the old charters of the noblesse. This code, more—

* Piedmont and Genoa are now united; but as that is a recent act, it would at present be difficult to give an account of their present state under the same head.

† His present majesty styles himself king of Sardinia, of Cyprus and Jerusalem, duke of Savoy and prince of *Piedmont*.

over, refers to the customs of places, to the decisions of the supreme magistrates, and to the Roman law. A commission has, however, been appointed to collect all new laws rendered necessary by circumstances, and, together with the laws of 1770, to form an entirely new code.

Religion.—The Catholic is the established religion of the state; the only christian sect tolerated, is that of the *Waldenses, or, as they are called in the country, Valdesi. They inhabit the valleys of Lucerna, Angrogna, &c., but they are not permitted to leave those districts. The laws relating to religious matters in this kingdom, are more tinged with a spirit of persecution and intolerance, than those of any state in Italy. The neighbourhood of the school of Calvin and his disciples may account sufficiently for that fact. Those reformers are permitted to live in Turin, but they possess neither church or clergymen, and no other religious privilege, than that of going to the chapel of the British or Prussian minister. No pontifical bull can be enforced without the exequatur of the king; and nominations to bishoprics are made by the Pope, upon a list presented by the king.

Convents.—They were formerly numerous in Piedmont, the persons attached to monasteries, amounting to - - - - 6874
and to nunneries - - - - 5200
Possessing a revenue of 714,335 dollars. The num-

* Brief memoir of the Waldenses, by a clergyman.

ber of convents re-established is about fifty, chiefly of the mendicant orders; for the government is actually continuing the sale of the confiscated property of the Regolari. The rents of all convents, at present, do not exceed 30,000 dollars, and they contain about 500 individuals.

Prisons.—They are bad. Indeed, in every part of Italy more has been done for the poor, sick, and infirm, than for the vicious and wicked. Hospitals and poor-houses are remarkable for comforts and cleanliness, but prisons have always been dirty and inconvenient and unhealthy. It seems often to be forgotten that there is as much charity in seeing that a prisoner does not suffer from bad air, bad food, or bad lodging, when the judge did not intend to include these evils in the sentence, as in giving medicines to the sick in hospitals, or bread to the poor in poor-houses, especially as many of these individuals have fallen into that condition by their own vice and debauchery, and are, in reality, quite as bad as many of those less fortunate beings, whom justice overtakes.

The population of Piedmont on the 1st of January, 1800, (none of the facts in this chapter apply to the counties either of Nice or Savoy) was 1,948,691.

* *Finances.* During the eighteenth century there were twenty-four creations of Monti, of which 13 bore an interest of 3 per cent. and 11 of 3 1-2.

* The finances of Piedmont furnish one of the most singular and satisfactory examples of the manner in which the Italian debts were liquidated by the French. I have, therefore, given all the details of this transaction.

Floating Debt.	{ The capital of these monti amounted to Taxes alienated, secured upon the land tax }	\$18,313,801 68	
		5,188,308 00	
			\$23,502,109 68
Funded Debt.	{ 1. Debt arising from forced and voluntary loans 2. All descriptions of credit on the state 3. Life annuities Tontines - - }	1,537,531 20	
		1,440,000 00	
		499,707 00	
		203,614 60	
			3,680,852 80
Bank Notes and Paper Money - - -			16,265,386 80
Amount of debt the 1st of April, 1799,			\$43,448 54 28

LIQUIDATION OF THIS DEBT BY THE FRENCH.

1. Floating Debt.	1. Proceeds of patriotic gifts and certificates left in the treasury.	\$278,493 64
2.	Monti redeemed by the law of Brumaire, 1801, by the sale of domains	960,000 00
3.	Sale of June, 1801, exchanging confiscated lands against certificates.	528,000 00
4.	Abolition of all monti and alienation of taxes belonging to corporations in mortmain.	6,000,000 00
5.	By suppression in consequence of laws of July, 1789, and of December, 1801, of all certificates held for alienation of taxes.	1,980,313 44
Amount carried forward - - -		\$9,746,812 08

Amount brought forward - - -	\$9,746,812 08
6. Sums appropriated to the kingdom of Italy, and inserted upon the *Monti Napoleon, at Milan.—Sums inscribed upon the great book of the empire, or redeemed by the sale of confiscated property in consequence of subsequent decrees.	12,960,000 00
	\$22,706,812 08

Leaving \$795,297 60 of the floating debt unredeemed. That sum, however, disappeared, and may be accounted for in the following manner. 1. The fifth sum of 1,980,313 = 44, might have been greater, as the manuscript copied from the books of the Treasury states, that some documents were wanting in order to ascertain the exact amount of the above item. 2. The expiration of many life annuities. And lastly, certificates refused, because not presented within the time prescribed by law.

2. *Funded Debt.*—This sum of 3,680,852 = 80 in consequence of ceding national domains to the holders of certificates (chiefly bankers and merchants) and allowing them to pay themselves in the duties on their own and the goods of their correspondents, was reduced on the 15th Ventose (6th March) 1802, to 989,214 dollars. The certificates and proofs of this last unredeemed portion were pretended to have been lost in the office of liquidation of Paris, at that time

* By Art. 95 of Congress of Vienna the Monti Napoleon at Milan is maintained. All property belonging to it, whether personal or real, and under whatever Italian jurisdiction now existing, remains appropriated to the objects of that institution.

directed by the Count of Fermont. They have since been demanded in vain by the creditors.

Bank Notes and Paper Money.—The provisional government in 1799, the king having abdicated December 9, 1798, reduced the paper money from 16,265,386 dollars 80 cents, to 5,393,795 dollars 52 cents, but the Supreme Council in the same year formed a new creation of 70,000,000 of Piedmontese livres, but of which they put in circulation only

	\$9,360,000
together with the first reduction	5,393,795 52

Making - -	\$14,753,795 52
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The council again reduced this sum to the par of exchange vizt. 4,200,000 dollars, but finding it impossible to resist the depreciation, the law of the *Consulta of 8th Thermidor, (27th July) abolished forever all the paper money of Piedmont, but leave was given to the holders to pay direct taxes with this money during one year, and to pay for national and confiscated domains one fifth part of the purchase money with this paper.

* Mr. Botta, author of the history of the Revolutionary war of this country, translated into French in 1812, with an introduction by M. De Sevelinges, and now translating into English by Mr. G. A. Otis, was a member of this Consulta. He is a Piedmontese. He wrote also, in the "Biographie Universelle" the "Life of President John Adams," where may be found the following phrase. "Vécut ensuite en homme privé et mourut à New Yorck en 1803, âgé de 82 ans."

At the return of the king in *1814, the public treasury did not owe a single denier. It has already been remarked, that the Italian governments were much indebted to the French in this particular; none more so than his Sardinian Majesty. His majesty, however, did not delay long in creating a considerable debt, of which the items are given below.

1. Montis and mortmains, chiefly belonging to religious corporations, revived to the amount of	\$8,000,000
2. †Demand presented against the French government by Piedmont in behalf of itself and subjects	f.93,605,594
Acknowledged by the French only	46,019,460
As a remuneration for the deficiency Piedmont granted inscriptions upon its public debt to several of its subjects to the amount of	2,400,000
3. Portions of old debt acknowledged, certificates of which had been surrendered to the French, for lands taken back by the present government	2,000,000
4. Monti of Genoa assumed - - -	12,800,000
5. Loan of 5 per cent. to pay 90,000 dollars annually to emigrants at Nice, who lost their property	1,800,000
6. Amount of debt for expenses of restoration	1,600,000
	\$28,600,000

* Convention by which French troops evacuated Piedmont, was signed April 27, 1814. Supp. au Recueil des Traités par Martens. Tom. v. p. 713.

† Convention of Paris of April 25, 1818, for the liquidation of debts between France and the allies.

I could not ascertain the amount of the Monti Napoleon at Milan. The Piedmontese government has been compelled to assume their portion of it.

State of the Treasury on the 1st of January, 1819.

RECEIPTS.

Excise on salt, powder, lead, pins, playing cards, &c.		\$5,537,732 40
Impost on merchandize	- -	180,000 00
Grain and wine	- - - -	400,000 00
Direct Taxes	<div> Piedmont 2,807,398 22 Genoa 160,660 25 Savoy 232,172 50 </div>	
		\$3,200,230 97
Deduct for losses and expenses of collection		167,200 37
		3,033,030 60
Lands and houses—ecclesiastical		62,544 04
Royal patrimony		46,115 00
As Duke of Genoa		15,000 00
Commendams	- -	20,000 00
		143,659 04
Canons	- - - -	10,000 00
Tolls from water-falls	- - -	20,704 04
Tolls from bridges and gates	-	24,761 14
Stamps	- - - -	300,000 00
Licences to notaries	- - - -	5,680 00
attornies	- - - -	8,884 00
clerks	- - - -	140 00
brokers	- - - -	3,980 00

“liquidatori”	- - -	476 10
measurers	- - -	172 00
apothecaries	- - -	300 00
“giuridico”	- - -	683,888 15
Different items	- - -	477,516 10
Capital on interest	- - -	33,471 00

\$10,864,394 57

EXPENDITURE.

Minister of foreign affairs	- -	\$422,543 10
Sardinia	- - -	14,560 00
General police	- -	110,000 00
Royal household	- -	666,346 32
Administration of the interior	- -	1,296,000 00
War	- -	4,795,164 30
Marine	-	412,047 00
Finances	-	2,400,000 00
Taxes	-	1,771,827 00
Expenses of the royal theatre	4083 16	
Purchase of ten horses	2960 00	
		7,043 16

\$11,895,530 88

Add interest of 5 per cent. upon debt of 28,600,000 dollars		1,430,000 00
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13,325,530 88

Amount of Receipts	- -	10,864,394 57
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\$2,461,136 31

leaving a balance against the treasury of 2,461,136 dollars, 31 cents.

There are several items in the above statement both of receipts and expenditure for which I could get no satisfactory explanation. Omitting those of less importance it appears to be a wicked prodigality, that more than 3,000,000 of dollars should be applied to the administration of finances and taxes, and it is unaccountable, that in a kingdom so small, it should have been found necessary to make two branches of a department that in the largest countries of Europe appears upon the budget only as one. In looking at other items of this expenditure, particularly those of royal household and war, it is impossible not to believe that these *"superannuated" and infatuated governments are preparing more revolutions for themselves. It is impossible, that with the progress of education, liberty, and intelligence, a people, little more than 3,000,000 on the main land, should ever submit to pay nearly 4,000,000 of dollars for the expense of the war department in the midst of profound peace; doubtless amounting to a comfortable salary to every younger son of every noble family in his Sardinian majesty's dominions. It is, moreover, the fashion now for armies to desert royalty; and it is not unlikely, that there may be found, in the Piedmontese ranks, brave and ambitious officers, accustomed to the discipline and success of French armies, decorated with French crosses, and little pleased to be superceded by noble cadets.

* Word applied by Mr. Southey, in his life of Nelson, to the Neapolitan government.

APPENDIX, No. II.

GENOA.

Government—merchants—lost 40,000,000 dollars in French funds at French revolution—religion—finances—population—charitable establishments suffered greatly.

GENOA.* Notwithstanding the protestations of the provisional government of Genoa, the act of adhesion was signed the 17th December, 1814, and a royal commissary took full and perfect possession of the dutchy, on the 7th January, 1815. The government differs in no essential respect from the other governments of the kingdom, except in a few matters relating to commerce, and the observance of old customs. The present laws of the tribunals are taken from the *Leggi e Costituzioni di Sua Maesta*, and from the civil code of the French. The present government of the city is known by the name of the mercantile and military senate. The pay of the first military president is 1200 dollars, and of a senator, 360. The senators are also paid for going to the

* See proclamation of Lord W. Bentick of April 21. 1814, to the Genoese, and letter of Lord Castlereagh to Col. Dalrymple, commanding the British troops at Genoa.

Congress held annually at Turin, so that all their appointments amount to about 2000 dollars. In the offices of magistracy and justice, more citizens than nobles are employed; in those of war and finance, more of the second order of nobles created for such purposes by the French, but all men of merit and experience. The higher offices of the government are usually given to nobles, though citizens have held them.

Merchants.—Merchant and noble families formerly married without much scruple; but the marquis Rivarola, brother of the cardinal of that name, who married in 1799 a daughter of the merchant Leno Pero, is the last example of such alliances.

The lands in the dutchy are divided nearly in equal portions between the nobility and the merchants, and yield from four to five per cent. At the time of the French revolution, the Genoese merchants lost a loan of *40,000,000 dollars in the French funds bearing an interest of five and a half per cent.

Religion.—The Jesuits have been restored, and property to the annual value of 4400 dollars assigned for their maintenance. All houses not sold, were restored to the religious communities; in one instance a convent of Olivetani, near Genoa, is now occupied by only one monk. But as the greater part

* Part of this sum was doubtless the purchase money of 40,000,000 of livres paid by the French in 1768 to the Genoese for the island of Corsica.

of their possessions were alienated, the income of all religious communities does not now exceed 14,000 dollars. Small extracts from the bible, made by authority, and most carefully purged, are much used by the lower class of people, who in general are able to read, though on an average not more than one-third know how to write.

Finances.—The land and direct taxes, in the time of the French, amounted to 400,000 dollars. At present they amount to only 160,660 dollars 25 cents. This diminution arose from an act of the provisional Ligurian government in 1814, reducing the tax on land and houses, and which the king, by the articles of adhesion, is bound to respect.

Population.—The eight provinces of Genoa contained the 1st of January, 1819, 636,728 souls. In a population of 85,000 in the city of Genoa, there were 2250 vagabonds, and, upon an annual average, 940 poor artizans. It is an undoubted fact, that one-third of the population of the whole dutchy occasionally depends upon charity. Before the revolution, the poor-house of Genoa possessed an income of 54,000 dollars, the bequests of charitable persons. That income is now reduced to 5600. Another charitable institution, also possessing an income of 20,000 dollars before the same period, now possesses only 2000 dollars. The foundling hospitals receive from 5 to 600 children, and 200 are exposed on the wheel. The number of persons on a daily average in the prisons is 300; and 700 individuals are annually brought

from all parts of the kingdom to work in the docks.*

* To the sum charged to the minister of the interior, it ought to be stated, that 400,000 were expended in restoring the light houses and docks at Genoa fallen into decay during the French.

APPENDIX, No. III.

TUSCANY.

Population—what proportions engaged in agriculture, commerce, &c.—contents of each square league—furnished 21,500 conscripts to France—proportion of cultivated land—quantity of Indian corn grown—religion—annual cost of the clergy—exact state of the budget for 1818.

POPULATION.—On the 1st of January, 1819, it amounted to 1,108,000. No details of the population exist in any office for any year since 1803. In that year there were in the country 847,236 individuals, and in the towns - - - - 211,695.

Engaged in Agriculture	- - - - -	901,110.
Commerce and manufactures	- - - - -	81,661.
Public concerns	- - - - -	50,000.
Military	- - - - -	4,000.
Religious	- - - - -	22,160.

In 1793, males in cities	- -	101,409
in country	- -	436,316
		<hr/> 537,75

Females in cities	- - -	111,176
in country	- -	413,105
		<hr/> 524,281

Engaged in agriculture - - -	957	} Contents on an average of each square mile.
commerce and manufactures	90	
public service - - -	56	
Military - - - - -	4	
Religious - - - - -	24	

From 1808 to 1812, Tuscany furnished France 21,500 conscripts.

From 1738 to the present time the population has increased at the rate of about 25 per cent. for that time.

As an evidence of the quantity of Maize or Indian Corn consumed, I shall give a brief abstract of Tuscan agriculture for 1793.

2,677,318 acres of cultivated land,
429,459 do. wood do.
108,332 do. pasture do.
535,856 do. uncultivated do.
535,856 acres incapable of cultivation.

Sown—2,374,874 bushels of Maize or Indian Corn,
1,769,032 bushels of all other corn.

4,143,956

25,733,460 bushels of all corn grown.
4,143,956 bushels of all corn sown.

21,539,504 bushels remain of all corn for consumption.

16,251,654 bushels Indian corn grown.
2,374,874 do. do. do. sown.

13,376,780 bushels remain for consumption.

Religion.—The present number of monks and nuns is 5,600. Though Tuscany was treated by the French with more mildness than any other conquered country, convent possessions were in general confiscated, and the inhabitants dismissed on small pensions. As far back as 1767, Leopold adopted a measure equally severe, though of a different kind. Without speaking again of the great confiscations at the time of the reformation, and of the great confiscations at various times, during the last century, by popes, kings, and emperors, it will be acknowledged that not more justice and moderation was practised in those instances than the French themselves exercised towards Italy, except that the property then transferred in the first-named instances, (though I am not aware that this affects the justice of the transfer) was in the jurisdiction of the sovereign. The best information I could obtain as to the estates of the present convents will not allow more than one hundred and fifty dollars of income, on an average, to each monk and nun, including those who have permanent incomes, and those who live on charity, equal to - \$840,000
2 archbishops and 18 bishops, with a salary of \$3,500 on an average - - - 70,000
All persons attached to the service of bishoprics - - - - - 481,000
2300 curates, vicars, and others performing mass for public service—the average salary, as fixed by Leopold, was \$80, including tenths - - - - - 184,000

\$1,575,000

\$1,575,000, annual cost of the clergy and religious persons, and requiring a capital at 5 per cent. the present rate of interest of public debt, of \$31,500,000.

Finances.

RECEIPTS.

Land tax - - - - -	\$ 850,000
Customs - - - - -	1,020,000
Letter and horse post, salt, tobacco, playing cards, &c. -	1,054,000
"Reasons of state" - - - -	136,000
Snow and ice farmed for four years for, yearly - - - -	3,200
	<hr/>
	\$3,063,200

EXPENDITURES.

Army—500 cavalry, 1000 artillery, 4000 infantry - - -	850,000
Civil list - - - - -	272,000
Public administration - - -	1,068,000
Pensions, civil and military - -	850,000
Interest of public debt at 5 per ct. -	85,000
	<hr/>
	\$3,125,000

Leaving a small balance against the treasury.

The expense of collecting the direct taxes is 5 per ct.

Do. do. do. indirect taxes from 20 to 25 per cent.

In 1803 the public debt amounted to \$23,833,866 38 cents; but there was no paper money. It was diminished by the French (first occupation in December, 1807) by forced reductions, and by exchanging confiscated property against certificates to its present amount.

THE END.

Ø 986 3605

